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# The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

*Published Weekly*

## The New Age of the Church
By Henry R. Luce

## Labor in the Postwar World
By Paul Hutchinson

## A Letter to the Churches
*An Editorial*

## American Militarism
By General H. C. Holdridge

15 Cents a Copy • March 19, 1947 • Six Dollars a Year

## In This Issue

HENRY R. LUCE

is editor and publisher of *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune* magazines. His article in this issue is an address delivered at the annual meeting of the Chicago church federation January 27. Rarely does The Christian Century publish addresses, but there are exceptions to all rules. In this case, the occasion, the theme and its treatment by a distinguished layman more than justify the exception. Mr. Luce is the son of Henry Winters Luce, long a Presbyterian missionary in China.

H. C. HOLDRIDGE

was honorably retired in 1944 as a brigadier general in the United States army. A graduate of West Point, he served during the First World War in the cavalry, the quartermaster corps and the adjutant general's department, both in this country and in France. Later he was in the army of occupation in Germany and did a tour of duty in the Philippines. In the recent war General Holdridge served as plans and training officer in the adjutant general's office, where he initiated on an operating basis the army's psychological testing program. He also established the office's administration schools located in nineteen colleges. Early last year he testified before Congress in opposition to compulsory military training and extension of the draft. General Holdridge has the M. A. degree in social science from Columbia University, and some years ago he received the honorary degree awarded annually by the American University, Washington, D. C., to the individual making the greatest contribution to public administration.

PAUL HUTCHINSON

expects to leave Hawaii for home at the end of this month. The Christian Century will print two more articles by him summarizing his observations during his recent round-the-world tour.


# The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Established 1884, as *The Christian Oracle*.
Name changed to *The Christian Century* 1900.
Refounded 1908 and developed as an undenominational journal of religion.
Incorporating: *The Christian Work* (1926), *The Baptist* (1933), *The World Tomorrow* (1934).

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March 19, 1947

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Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1902, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Published weekly by The Christian Century Press, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago (5), Ill.

$6.00 a year. Canadian postage, 52 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.56 extra

The Christian Century is indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* to be found in all libraries

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## Calendar of Coming Events

March 23. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; John W. Ruthi, speaker.
March 23. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Wayne L. Morse, speaker.
March 27-28. American Study Commission, Lutheran World Federation, New York city.
March 30. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; G. Bromley Oxnam, speaker.
March 30. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Maurice Hindus, speaker.
April 6. Easter.
April 6. 6 a.m. Mount Davidson Sunrise Easter Service, San Francisco.
April 7-18. Lectures on Church, Law and Society, Union Theological Seminary, New York; Bishop Gustaf Aulén, speaker.
April 8-10. South Dakota Baptist Ministers' Retreat, Sioux Falls College, Sioux Falls.
April 11. Chicago Tract Society Annual Meeting, Central Y.M.C.A.
April 15-17. Annual Pastors' Conference, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.; Rolland W. Schloerb, Morton S. Enslin, speakers.
April 16-18. Joint Meeting, Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches and International Missionary Council, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
April 17-19. Minnesota State Christian Young People's Conference, Mankato.
April 19-21. Meeting, Arrangement Committee for World Council of Churches 1948 Assembly, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
April 19-21. United Stewardship Council Spring Meeting, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
April 22-25. Meeting, Provincial Committee of the World Council of Churches, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
April 26. Rhode Island Bible Class Convention, Cranston.
April 26-27. New Jersey Bible Class Convention, Rutherford.
April 28-May 1. Wisconsin Pastors' Conference, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
April 28-May 30. Lectures on Church, Law and Society, Episcopal Theological and Andover Newton Theological School, Cambridge and Newton Centre, Mass.; Bishop Gustaf Aulén, speaker.
April 30. General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains, Washington, D. C.
May 4. Midyear Meeting, Church Building Committee of the Home Missions Council, Birmingham, Ala.
May 4-11. National Family Week.
May 5. Conference on Church Architecture, interdenominational Bureau of Architecture, Birmingham, Ala.
May 7-11. Southern Baptist Convention, St. Louis, Mo.
May 8-10. Decentralist Movement Conference, Oklahoma City.
May 10. Massachusetts Bible Class Convention, Salem.
May 19-23. Northern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting, Atlantic City.
May 22. Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., General Assembly, Grand Rapids, Mich.
May 27-29. Wisconsin Laymen's Conference, Green Lake.
May 28. United Presbyterian Church General Assembly, Sterling, Kan.
May 29. Presbyterian Church, U. S., General Assembly, Montreat, N. C.
June 2-6. Recreation Laboratory, Northeastern Jurisdiction, Methodist Church, Ocean City, N.J.
June 11-18. North American Interseminary Conference, Oxford, Ohio.
June 11-18. Student Christian Movement Regional Conference, Lake Geneva, Wis.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
# CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LXIV CHICAGO, MARCH 19, 1947 NUMBER 12

## EDITORIAL

*WE beseech Thee, almighty God, mercifully to look upon Thy people; that by Thy great goodness they may be governed and preserved evermore, both in body and soul; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.*

### Fifth Sunday In Lent

The late pope once remarked that spiritually all Christians are Semites. "Passion Sunday," as the fifth Sunday in Lent is traditionally called, is an illustration of that truth. It reminds us how much of our Christian vocabulary we owe to the race to which our Lord belonged. Indeed it was his deliberate intention that the first "Good Friday" should be linked to the Jewish Passover. That is clear from his opening words at the Last Supper: "I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." Now the Jewish Passover was celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month of the Jewish ecclesiastical year. It was considered appropriate that the first fourteen days of the Jewish year should be a period of preparation for the occasion on which the paschal lamb was slain. The fifth Sunday in Lent—two weeks before Easter Sunday—was called Passion Sunday to symbolize that the church remembered him who, "by his own blood . . . obtained eternal redemption for us." In 1689 a new collect for this Sunday, based on the ninth chapter of Hebrews, was drafted to replace the traditional collect. But the attempt failed and we still have, in the translation of the reformers, the collect given above—the simple, majestic prayer of Pope Gregory that the church of Jesus Christ shall perpetually stand under the providence of God.

### Supreme Court Asserts National Sovereignty

STRIKES against the government of the United States are outlawed by the decision of the Supreme Court in the United Mine Workers case. In holding John L. Lewis and his union guilty of contempt of court, the highest judicatory in the land opened a new chapter in labor history. The significance of the decision lies not in the fact that it is the first important setback which the unions have had in fifteen years, but rather in the court's assertion that the national interest holds primacy over the interests of subordinate groups. Miners are citizens before they are miners, and as citizens they have a duty to the total community which their vocational loyalties cannot supersede. Justice Vinson put it this way: "In our complex society there is a great variety of limited loyalties, but the overriding loyalty of all is to our country and to the institutions under which a particular interest may be pursued." Speaking for the majority in the 7-2 decision, the chief justice made it clear that all our privileges depend in the last analysis on the fact that "we enjoy the rights of free men under our system of government." That system must be maintained, and members of labor unions have as large a responsibility as do other citizens for its perpetuation. Hence there can be no emergency with which the sovereign power of the nation cannot deal and none in which it may be defied. Even if a court is clearly wrong, it must be obeyed and justice sought by appeal. This is a sound decision if it is understood in terms of the political relationships about which the court was talking. In a deeper sense all loyalties, including that to the nation, are limited, and only God can command absolute loyalty. But recent events have made it evident that the nation must protect itself against paralysis occasioned by disputes in key industries. This decision seems to provide that protection, although we cannot be sure until April 1, when the miners may once again walk out.

### President Seeks Peace Through Trade

SHOOTING WARS begin as economic skirmishes. The use of tariffs, quotas, blocked currencies and discriminatory trade practices as weapons always leads to the employment of more lethal devices. So President Truman should receive the support of both parties in his effort to persuade Congress to extend the reciprocal trade program and to set up an International Trade Organization. The United States now possesses the most powerful economy in the world—the most powerful and the most unstable. If we adopt a foreign policy which encourages trade and stimulates industry, we will do more to take away the occasions of war and to raise the standard of living throughout

the world than by any other course. President Truman's Baylor University speech, warning that the world is waiting to see what we shall do, was timely. "The choice is ours," he said. "We can lead the nations to economic peace or we can plunge them into economic war." The first step on the road to economic peace is renewal of the reciprocal trade agreements. These do not eliminate tariffs, but they permit the government to determine duties on the basis of what other nations are willing to do. Congress requires the executive to return periodically to it for further grants of authority to extend this program. It is a good thing for Congress to keep its control, but it should act promptly and generously. However, trade agreements are not enough to insure world economic recovery. So a conference of eighteen nations is scheduled to meet in Switzerland soon to consider the establishment of an International Trade Organization. This will function in cooperation with the United Nations to build world commerce. The United States should lead in this development, which will further reduce the danger of the world's relapsing once more into cutthroat trade practices. Similar bodies now exist to deal with relief and refugees, food and agriculture, shipping and aviation, and loans for reconstruction and stabilization. The ITO also deserves bipartisan support.

## Educator Speaks Out On Catholic Schools

ROMAN Catholics are determined to block federal aid to public schools unless they can get it also for their parochial schools, declared Dr. John L. Childs of Teachers College, Columbia University, before a large audience of educators assembled in Atlantic City for the convention of the American Association of School Administrators. He said: "As one who has been intimately associated with labor and political movements in our country, I can report that many are now convinced that we shall never get a federal aid bill passed unless it provides that the funds appropriated by the government be made available to these private, religious schools, as well as to the public schools. Now this is a highly doubtful situation for a minority—even a religious minority—to allow to come to pass. It means, in effect, that unless the demands of a minority are met, that minority will unite with reactionary and financially selfish groups to block federal support for the public schools." This is, of course, a statement of opinion, not the report of an announced Roman Catholic policy. Its plausibility is supported by the fact that opposition to federal aid for schools was the Catholic line until, quite recently, the bills proposing federal aid either became ambiguous on the subject of including private religious schools or specifically included them. From the Roman Catholic standpoint on the school question, it is certainly not bad strategy to say "all or none" with reference to federal aid for schools. It is well to realize that this is the strategy, if it is, but the battle must be fought out on more fundamental grounds. The real questions are: (1) Is it wise and just to divide the public funds available for education between the public schools and other competing systems of private schools? (2) Is it wise and just to distribute federal funds among the states for elementary and secondary education? These are separate questions which should be considered separately. Probably a majority of the American people, including Dr. Childs and The Christian Century, would answer No to the first, and Yes to the second. If subsidy for sectarian schools is made the price of Catholic support for the federal aid program, it may well be that those who see the public school system in process of being scuttled by such subsidies will prefer to see federal aid held up until it can be given to public schools only.

## Let the United Nations Take Over Greece!

GREECE and the whole situation in the eastern Mediterranean should be submitted to the United Nations. Britain's retirement forces a major shift of power in that dangerous area. To whom shall power be transferred? The administration in Washington has not fully revealed its hand as we go to press, but it is apparently proceeding on the assumption that power can shift only to Russia or to the United States. This assumption is a mistake whose consequences may include the colossal tragedy of atomic war between ourselves and the Soviet Union. The alternative to a policy which sets America against Russia in the eastern Mediterranean is one which lays the whole problem before the United Nations and equips that body with the financial and military means to assume power on behalf of the world community. The many-sided crisis in which this entire area is involved provides an opportunity for the international organization actually to begin to function as a government on behalf of the world community.

## Prospect Wanes for Atomic Control

ON THE EVE of the four-power peace conference, Moscow dictated the Gromyko statement blasting hope for agreement on the U.S. plan for international control of atomic energy. Why did the Kremlin choose this moment to make it clear that Russia has no intention of accepting an International Atomic Development Authority of the kind proposed in the American plan? One view is that the Russian representative on the Security Council was ordered to raise his argument as a bargaining point for Moscow. According to this view, Russia will later yield what she now withholds. This kind of thing has happened before, but it does not seem likely that it will happen in this case. The Russian position has been maintained too long and with too much consistency for it to be abandoned easily. A more credible reason why Russia has issued this statement now is suggested by Walter Lippmann. The Kremlin, he says, is gambling that Britain's plight will compel her to cast her lot with the states of western Europe. The British government will therefore use its influence against weapons which expose her and her immediate neighbors to destruction in the event of war. So Lippmann thinks that Russia has lost her fear of the atomic weapon in our hands. We believe that this reason has weight, but that it must be linked with another development. It is now clear that the discovery of practicable peacetime uses of nuclear energy is very near. It seems likely that Russia

recognizes this and expects soon to have her own atomic energy plants. Gromyko says that his nation objects to having atomic development for peace as well as war funneled through an international agency. She is willing to take a chance on an atomic war in order to get atomic energy for peacetime use at the earliest possible moment.

## Princes Cast Lot With India

THE FIRST BREAK toward Indian unity since Britain announced that she will withdraw in June 1948 occurred when the heads of the larger native states declared that they intended to enter the constituent assembly without further delay. Until its leaders took this step, the Indian Chamber of Princes had taken the position that its members would not enter the constitution-writing body until the Moslems agreed to do so. The decision of the most powerful princes to enter the assembly strengthens the hand of the Congress party. It also improves the prospect, lately very dim, that Indian union and independence can be achieved without civil war. The action of the princes indicates that they no longer doubt Britain's intention of keeping her word. As is generally known, these men are dependent upon the British crown for all their authority. Now these 600 rulers, big and little, find themselves faced with a choice of becoming part of a democratic India or losing their political heads. Their leaders recognize this and are moving rapidly toward cooperation. Meanwhile Mahatma Gandhi is shifting his base of operations from Moslem Bengal to Hindu Bihar. For the past four months he has been going from village to village preaching communal harmony in the areas where Moslem violence against Hindus was most severe in the riots of last October. His efforts had considerable effect in the area he visited in Bengal and it is to be hoped that they will prove equally influential in Bihar. But one old man plodding from village to village on foot cannot keep up with outbreaks of communal violence at the rate they are occurring in India today. News from the Punjab indicates that the situation there is rapidly deteriorating toward outright civil war. The forces of reconciliation must find a speedier way to travel than Mr. Gandhi is ready to adopt.

## White Primary Opposed by Protestants in Georgia

ACTING under the direction of Herman Talmadge, claimant to the office of governor, the Georgia legislature recently enacted a law making it virtually impossible for a Negro to vote in the primary elections in that state. The new law was immediately denounced by the Atlanta Christian Council as a violation of the "American principle of no taxation without representation." Displaying considerable courage, this interdenominational body declared that the bill "robbed the state of Georgia of any legal right to control the election of its own officials and, in so doing, placed the power in the hands of a private, uncontrolled club." This statement referred to the provision of the law which strips from the state any power to supervise or control the primary elections, in which the voters in a one-party state have their only opportunity to choose between candidates. By placing the administration of the primaries in the hands of the dominant political party, Georgia is attempting "to circumvent the Constitution of the United States," say the churchmen. They are not averse to enactment of a law requiring voters to prove that they can meet certain educational qualifications, but they hold that "such a law would have to be applied justly to all peoples." The action of the Atlanta Christian Council is well timed, and should be followed by similar statements on the part of other Christian bodies in other cities. It should also be backed up by actions which speak louder than resolutions. The law should be challenged in the federal courts. We understand that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is prepared to proceed along this line. It will need financial assistance as well as outspoken moral support. Both should be given generously.

# A Letter to the Churches

IF YOU should enter the headquarters office of your denomination, you would see lying on a desk a letter of whose existence every churchman in America should now be informed and which he should not be allowed to forget. The letter is addressed to your denomination. It requires an answer. Its request is one that cannot be disregarded. The answer must be either yes or no. Not to answer at all will be the equivalent of a negative reply. A compromise answer will imply a confession which should be embarrassingly difficult for any Christian church to make. The letter is an official invitation from the Federal Council of Churches, addressed not only to your denomination but to all others that are related to the Federal Council. It is signed by the general secretary, authorized by the executive committee of that body and approved by the biennial meeting of the council in Seattle last December.

The Federal Council's letter invites each of its constituent denominations to participate in "a plenary conference of representatives of American churches to consider the immediate possibility of closer unity." The invitation is both limited and unlimited. It is limited to "those denominations which already accord one another mutual recognition of ministries and sacraments." It is unlimited in that it leaves each denomination to decide for itself whether it desires to participate on these terms.

How did the idea of such a convocation originate? Very simply. It first found expression at the General Council of Congregational Churches in June 1946, which addressed an overture to the Federal Council petitioning that body to initiate such a plenary convocation and defining its basis. Two months later, the Disciples of Christ, at their International Convention, joined in this overture with a slight broadening of the terms which, however, did not modify the substance. Both were adopted without dissent. In response to these memorials from two of its constituent denominations, the Federal Council proceeded to write its letter to the churches.

The Congregational overture, concurred in by the Disciples of Christ, is vibrant with urgency and immediacy.

Its preamble declares: (1) its belief that the unity which now actually exists among the churches is deeper and more inclusive than has yet been expressed in any organized form; (2) that there is a "holy impatience" in the hearts of great numbers of Christian people for a church competent to bear a more convincing witness to a world threatened with annihilation for want of community; (3) that returning chaplains and other Christian veterans testify to the special joy they experienced in the liberty of ministering to and worshiping with Christians of all communions; and (4) that there is today among Christians a new readiness to be obedient to the will of Christ.

Passing by the long controversy over ministries and sacraments which so preoccupies the deliberations of ecumenical gatherings, the overture then calls for a plenary conference of those American denominations for whom this controversy does not exist—that is, those who already are committed to the practice of Christian unity insofar as they mutually recognize one another's ordained ministries and one another's administration of the sacraments as equally valid and Christian.

This cuts straight through the jungle of controversy over the historic episcopate and all the doctrines of faith and order which are pendent to it. It does not solve this controversy or imply that it need not be solved. But it proclaims that those for whom this controversy does not exist have no reason to allow it to obstruct the immediate attainment of unity among themselves.

That there is a widespread impatience with the slow tempo of the movement for a united church is a fact that will hardly be disputed. The conviction is growing that the scope of the ecumenical movement in its conventional pattern is so broad that action is inhibited by the amenities inherent in its inclusiveness. The endless talk in its conferences on faith and order easily becomes compensatory for inaction. Since these conferences are preoccupied with a goal that is so remote, the lesser but immediately attainable goals are likely to be neglected, if not altogether eclipsed. This gives occasion for the ecclesiastical mind to rationalize inertia on the ground that, after all, Christian unity means ultimately the unity of *all* Christians; and therefore the unity of *some* Christians, that is, those Christians who could unite, is of too little importance to command attention.

But meantime Rome burns—while we talk! American Protestantism grows less and less competent to discharge its Christian obligation in the modern world. The challenges to its ascendancy in the land of its greatest strength grow more formidable and aggressive. Secularism has already captured our cultural mentality. Catholicism is out in the open with an aggressive evangelism. This it uses as the spearpoint of a subtle strategy to attain for itself a privileged position in the American state and to gain access to public funds for the support of its schools. The profanization of life by the various forms of commercialized mass entertainment and news spreads like poison through the whole body of modern society.

From all this and much else there has emerged a profound longing for a united Protestantism. The issues which occasioned our divisions have become obsolete. Loyalty to a particular denomination has appreciably waned, leaving multitudes of Christians without a visible church worthy to command their allegiance. The disrespect in which Protestant sectarianism is held by its environing public is reflected in a similar appraisal of their Christian heritage by its own members. There is a longing for some demonstration that Protestantism is not condemned to its present state of impotence, and that it is aware of the predicament into which its irrelevant and decaying sectarianism has brought it. Nothing can satisfy this longing short of the emergence of a vigorous ecumenical Protestantism.

We believe that this is the hope in which the Federal Council's letter was conceived. It may be assumed that that body will take no further action until a sufficient number of favorable responses have been received to warrant the exercise of its good offices in setting up a Joint Committee on Arrangements and Agenda. From that point on, the arrangements, agenda and provision for preliminary study will be in the hands of this Joint Committee on which will sit representatives of all participating denominations. The next move is therefore up to the denominations. Theirs it is to answer the Federal Council's letter of invitation.

No reader should get the idea that this event can be brought to pass day after tomorrow. It will require thorough preparation. This will take time. The invitations can be answered only by the most representatively responsible conventions or judicatories of the denominations. Several of these will meet this spring and next fall, others will meet next year.

With the basis of participation in mind, let us take a rough account of the prospect by glancing at the denominations. A preponderant majority of Protestant churches would find no theoretical difficulty in regarding the invitation as plainly intended for them. Offhand, we would say that the Methodist, African Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian (North, South and United), Congregationalist, United Lutheran, National Baptist, Northern Baptist, Disciples of Christ, Reformed, Evangelical and Reformed, Evangelical United Brethren, and many other bodies not so large numerically would be included without question in the terms of the invitation. Without prejudicing the response of other groups, we would imagine that the Quakers and the Episcopalians might be perplexed in deciding whether to participate. Nevertheless, their thoughtful consideration of the invitation and of its profound Christian implications will be salutary.

In the case of those denominations which are not related to the Federal Council, such, for example, as the Southern Baptists and certain of the Lutheran bodies, the initial invitation has not been extended. These bodies may, however, be assured that when a sufficient number of acceptances have been received to enable the formation of the Joint Committee they will surely and cordially be invited to participate.

The concept within which this undertaking has been launched is potentially inclusive of the whole of American Protestantism. It is exclusive of none save those who desire not to be included. It will be evident at once that when so many as the minimal number of five or six denominations accept the Federal Council's invitation, the holding of such a plenary conference will prove to be the most significant, promising, revealing and fateful event in the entire history of non-Roman Christianity in this country.

Its importance will be enhanced in proportion as the minimal number is exceeded.

Meantime, there should be a general discussion in every denomination, in its pulpits, its press, its ministers' associations, its lay men's and women's organizations and in special conferences, looking toward the decision each must make to participate or not to participate. The question arising from the basis of participation is the most searching one that can be formulated. It goes straight to the heart of the ecumenical problem. It tests the sincerity of all our protestations on behalf of Christian unity. The question each denomination will answer will present itself as a sequence of three phases. First will come the question: Do *we* recognize the ministry and sacraments of other churches of Christ as on a Christian parity with our own? If the answer is negative, or weasel-worded, such a church will not wish to participate. If the answer is affirmative, the second question will be: Do these other churches of Christ recognize *our* ministry and sacraments as on a Christian parity with their own? If the answer here is affirmative, the third question will then be: What reason can we give to Jesus Christ, the Head of his church, for not joining with other Christians in an earnest and immediate quest for closer unity? No reason that we are not willing to give to Him will satisfy the conscience of any denomination that calls itself Christian. To take counsel of its pride, its doctrines, its traditions, its vested interests, its ecclesiastical bureaucracy, or any practical considerations that may seem to present difficulties, will leave the conscience of such a church uneasy in its sectarian isolation.

(We believe the basic formula would have been strengthened had it included "membership" in the same bracket with "ministries and sacraments." The mutual recognition of one another's members as Christians, that is, as true members of the church of Christ, is fundamental in the approach to unity. From it logically flows the mutual recognition of ministries and sacraments. No doubt recognition of "membership" was taken for granted in the basic formula, but a negative answer to the questions stated above would have been more difficult if the mutual recognition of the full Christian status of the members of other churches had been explicitly included.)

It is impossible to set bounds to the prospect which this movement opens up to the eyes of Christian faith. What form its successful outcome will take no man can tell. How timidly or how boldly the denominations will allow their representatives in the proposed plenary conference to act, remains, of course, to be seen. But it seems clear that the "closer unity" to be sought must be something more organic than the federation of autonomous denominations. We already have federation, and it has brought us together in a fellowship of cooperative activity, hard to envisage a generation ago. But the question now raised is whether this cooperative fellowship has not brought a large group of churches to the place where they are able to give outward and visible expression to the mutuality which they potentially recognize in one another. It may be too much to hope that none of the more resourceful churches will say no, but it is not too much to expect that most of them will accept the invitation in good faith and with earnest hope and purpose.

For the success of this movement all Christians who have at heart the fate of non-Roman Christianity in America, and who are intelligently aware of the crisis in which it now stands, will earnestly pray and work to make sure that their own church is not disobedient to this divine imperative.

# Labor in the Postwar World

[EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE]

*Honolulu, February 25*

BY THE TIME I have finished it may seem that I have this topic backward, and that what I am really writing about is "The Postwar World in the Hands of Labor." For that is, in essence, the case. And the reason I include this subject in this series of summarizing comments on the over-all observations I have made in Europe and Asia is that so many Americans still fail to see that it is the case. "When a thing is inevitable," an old minister once said in my hearing, "I fix to get adjusted to it." This fact that labor is moving into the driver's seat all around the world is something that a lot of Americans—including some American churchmen—might wisely fix to get adjusted to.

If I may judge by what I have read in the press during these months of my absence from home, a predominant mood in the United States these days is one of anger at the "excesses" of labor. Labor, nearly everybody seems to agree, has "gone too far." It has imperiled the public welfare. It must be put in its place. Jimmy Petrillo is left without a friend on earth (except Westbrook Pegler!), and John L. Lewis would lose hands down in a popularity contest with a man-eating shark. The Republican party, nibbling the fruits of victory for the first time since 1928, and determined to take a full bite in 1948, counts on its accomplishments in "curbing" labor to sweep it to triumph in the electoral college.

I could discount much of this—I long ago formed the habit of discounting heavily most newspaper reporting of labor news—were it not that labor itself seems in such a chastened, or at least introspective, mood. Are you having strikes on the mainland these days? If so, one doesn't read about them here. One reads rather of quarrels between union leaders on matters of policy, of a renewed attempt to patch up the rift between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., of the ease with which "Big Steel" handled its contract renewal with the union. Union leadership apparently has concluded that it must choose between slowing down on its demands and finding itself in a fight from which it might emerge in worse shape than it did in the early 1920's.

I am not saying that this swing in public opinion which has put organized labor on the defensive is an unhealthy development. I am too far away to be sure. When I reach home, and want a new car or want to get the weekly issues of The Christian Century to press on time, if I find my desires thwarted by "labor trouble" I may feel like all the other commuters on the 7:57. But if I find that cracking down on labor actually means steering the country back to another Andrew Mellon period—or still farther

back to another Hanna era—it will be hard to convince me that our worst domestic danger comes from rambunctious union officers. For I am returning with a firm belief that we Americans need to study this labor question in its world setting and in long-range terms, as well as in its national and immediate aspects, and that is something no former generation of Americans ever tried to do.

Now if a start is to be made in studying the labor question in its world aspects and with a view to the decent, peaceful social order we hope to have a half-century hence and not just to the votes the parties hope to garner next year, there are certain things that need to be said. I will confine myself to three of them.

First, labor everywhere is moving into the seats of power. This repeats what I have already said in my first paragraph. It is a fact so obvious that it sounds foolish to underscore it. Nevertheless it needs emphasis, for I fear that most Americans do not yet begin to take in its meaning. For four centuries, capital has held power in the West. It made little difference what the form of government; behind the scenes the owners of wealth and controllers of production ran the show. By the opening of this century capital had begun to take over power in the industrializing East also—in Japan, India, China; likewise, in imperialistic terms, in Africa.

## I

It is not here necessary to debate what happened to the capitalistic oligarchies—whether they committed suicide in the ways foretold by Marx or whether, like the French *ancien régime,* they just brought on their troubles by their own arrogance. In any event, organized labor appeared. Then organized labor began to learn how to exert effective political pressure, frequently through its own political parties. Now there are labor governments, or socialist-labor governments, all over the map. If I had a *World Almanac* handy I would add up the number of such governments. They already control most of the area of Europe, Latin America, the British Commonwealth of Nations and a good chunk of the other continents besides.

The fact on which Americans should reflect, however, is not this global drift toward labor governments, but that this tendency is not likely to be stopped except by fascism or other forms of military dictatorship, provided we cling to our democratic processes centering around the ballot box. Why not? Simply because there are too many workers. The cooling-off which already has overtaken the enthusiasm of some Republican congressmen for labor-curbing legislation stems out of this basic fact. The world around, the shift to the factory has changed the nature of the world's population during the past century or half-century. This process was slow in starting in the United States, but the census occupational figures show that it has come with spectacular swiftness since 1890. All the industrialized nations are now reaping the social and political results of this change. It has brought the underlying revolution which puts organized labor where capital used to be.

One further observation needs to be made concerning this shift in the possession of power. We must expect excesses on the part of labor in using its new-found power. Historically speaking, every class or institution that has gained great power has abused it—and that includes the church. Labor will be no different. The public interest will have to be protected against labor's misuse of power. (There will be difficulties at times in distinguishing the public interest from the interest of the labor majority, but that is one of the perennial problems of democracy.) But the public interest has always had to be protected from the holders of power—recall again the Hanna-Aldrich period—so that there is no sense in acting now as though labor's excesses constitute an unparalleled depravity. What we face here is the truth of the familiar dictum of Lord Acton.

Second, I must repeat what I have said in previous letters: that a collectivist order is emerging as the norm for industrialized societies. In other parts of the world it is already here or in sight. In the United States such an order is farther away. Yet even in the United States there are signs that we are moving in that direction. Consider, for example, the growth of the public corporation idea. One successful enterprise of this sort, like the TVA, will in time breed dozens of others. If a major depression should result from capitalism's failure to extract general prosperity from our war-expanded industrial machine, the shift to some such form of collectivism as this is likely to be swift and far-reaching.

In saying this I do not minimize what I have written elsewhere about the dangers to individual freedom inherent in a government-controlled economy. That is a problem not to be easily solved. I have previously reported a speech which I heard Herbert Morrison make over the B.B.C. in England last summer, when he said of his government's "experiment of far-reaching planning with full individual freedom" that "logically, you can easily prove that it can't be done." Whatever the danger, logical or otherwise, that doesn't change what is happening. Justin Wroe Nixon was surely right when, in a recent article in these pages (see The Christian Century for January 22), he predicted that our next national "time of troubles" would see public demand bringing a great increase in government economic controls. That is what has happened all over the world, and it is what will happen here.

## II

Even such Americans as are determined to resist the advance of collectivism in the United States must therefore get ready to deal with a collectivist world. This does not necessarily mean a communist world. But some form of socialized order under labor rule is already here in most of the Western countries with which we trade, and it is coming—perhaps after bitter struggle—in the industrialized Asia of the future. I have tried to show, in a book published under the title of *The New Leviathan,* why the peoples of other nations are choosing this collectivist principle, so I do not need to go over that question again here. The point is that they do choose it.

This explains why Christian Socialism is growing so rapidly in western Europe. If you read *Quadragesimo Anno* carefully, and the comments of the present pontiff on it, you discover that even the popes have become Christian Socialists. (Shades of Pius IX!) They are adjusting to the inevitable. Most Protestant leaders in Europe will agree that only some form of Christian Socialism has a chance of keeping that continent from inundation by a collectivist tide that is completely materialistic, even atheistic, in outlook. And that should suggest that something more than an emotional response needs to be forthcoming from American churchmen when the waves of this same tide begin to lap our shores.

In the third place, when this labor question is thus considered in its global, long-range aspects, it should be clear that if the issue is settled by a fight to a finish, four things will happen. (1) Labor will win. (2) But the social costs of its victory will be enormous. (3) Lasting wounds will be left by the struggle. (4) Labor, as the conqueror, will be less rather than more concerned for the total public welfare.

III

What is required if these tragic eventualities are to be avoided is a lifting of the entire issue out of a state of war, either by transcending the capital-labor division or by transforming the warfare of the two parties into cooperation. Here is where the churches come in. For an effort to do either or both of these things would provide the churches with a labor policy genuinely productive of the public good. The current talk about supporting labor's demands for justice, or appointing chaplains to labor, or encouraging Christians to find a religious vocation in the labor movement, does not go far enough to do this. It fails because the churches are supposed to support *any* demand for justice, to teach their members that they have a religious vocation in *any* calling and activity, and because the chaplaincy idea is as one-sided and sentimental as would be the idea of solving the problem by appointing chaplains to the National Association of Manufacturers. No, if the churches propose to deal courageously with this issue—and woe will betide them if they try to dodge it!—they should try to find a way by which the struggle may be either transcended or ended.

As I see it, this is what the Roman Catholic Church is trying to do. If papal encyclicals and allocutions have not already brought that communion to a clearly defined program to attain these two ends, they have at least measurably lessened the distance to such a program. The Roman Church would transcend the struggle by encouragement of the cooperative movement, and it would end it by encouragement of the corporative state. For a demonstration of the former, look at Antigonish. For a rough-and-ready indication of what Romanists have in mind in the latter, read again Harold E. Fey's quotation from Bishop Haas in his Christian Century series of articles (now available in pamphlet form) on "Can Catholicism Win America?"

I wish that the Protestant churches were showing an equal concern for constructive solutions. Perhaps the Pittsburgh conference on the Church and the Economic Order, called by the Federal Council, showed that they are farther along in this respect than I have realized. The report of that conference has not reached me as I write. But I wish that all American Protestantism were making a more serious study of the possibilities and limitations of the cooperative movement. (I am all for the co-ops, but things I have seen where they have developed their greatest strength convince me that there are such limitations.) And while I do not believe that the corporative state represents the way to end the labor struggle—not because, as is sometimes charged, it is fascism, but because I believe it will always slide into state totalitarianism—I wish that Protestants were actively exploring the possibilities of labor in management as a way to industrial peace. Management holds the key in a technological society. That is why the handful of peacefully constructive unions—such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Mr. Dubinsky's I.L.G.W.U.—have been the ones which have had a real part in management issues in their industries.

But this is getting away from my purpose in simply reporting on the state of the world as I have observed it during these nine months of wandering. Therefore let me go back and try quickly to summarize the points on this world-compassing labor issue which I wish to emphasize. (1) The rise of labor to power is a global fact that cannot be changed or evaded. (2) With this goes an irresistible tendency toward a collectivist order. (3) The United States at this moment seems to be in a mood to try to head off or turn back these movements. (4) Whatever its initial success in this attempt it will be struggling against (a) the danger in which its own economy will stand if another major depression comes along; (b) the spirit of the times in other parts of the world; (c) the U. S. decennial census. (5) The churches need to think of this labor issue in world-wide and long-range terms, for local and stop-press decisions will presently turn out to be no decisions at all.

PAUL HUTCHINSON.

## *The Mysterious Guest*

THEIR TALK was all of casual things,
Business, and stock reports, and play,
While hardly half a room away
An Angel sat with spreading wings
Above the casket's gray.

Not coldly, but with unconfessed
And groping terror of the blind,
They strove to barricade from mind
All thought of that mysterious Guest
They saw not, but divined.

And how they struggled not to see
That there had entered from the night
A towering Seraph of the light—
A timeless curtain, an unturned key,
Strangeness and immortality
Poised barely out of sight!

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

# The New Age of the Church

By Henry R. Luce

I WISH to speak about the church. Not about the United Nations or race relations or economic cycles or juvenile delinquency, but about something more important—the church. What church? Naturally, of course, the holy catholic church. What other church would a Christian be speaking about? But what and where is that church? This question is easily answered by Roman Catholics—perhaps too easily. For the Roman Catholic, this question is the least of his troubles. His church may be defined, with a splendid simplicity, as including all those who are in communion with the pope and under his spiritual care and discipline.

It is a vast church, composed of millions of uniquely different individuals, of tens of thousands of churches all a little different from each other in color and tone and temper, of hundreds of dioceses and archdioceses in many lands. The Roman Church includes also a rich variety of orders of monks and nuns and of groups specially devoted to many causes. Nevertheless, the Roman Church is sufficiently definite in its outline. Here and there and there are its boundaries. It presents itself as an inspiring example of the many within the one and the one pervading the many.

But for Protestants, the question, What is the church, and where? is more difficult. In the Roman Church its diversity is a saving grace, which it sometimes does not have enough of. But with us Protestants diversity has become disunity and it is more indicative of our faults than of our virtues. Indeed we call it the "scandal of disunity."

### *What Do We Really Mean?*

Our problem is not a superficial one. It is far more than a mere matter of organization or lack of it. The question of unity thrusts before us the whole question of what the church of God really is. Is the church of God anything actual and real? If the church is nothing real, what is Christianity? We have evaded these questions. With little sense of shame, we have gone on singing enthusiastically, "I love Thy church, O God." What do we mean? It is time we knew. Fortunately, many signs and portents indicate that we are ready to learn.

The most significant leaders in our churches today are devoted men devotedly determined to overcome the scandal of disunity, especially here in America where the scandal is greatest. And these men are concerned not merely to overcome the scandal, however grave. They are impelled by a passionate conviction that a new age of the church is dawning—an age in which all Christians will be drawn into ever closer communion, not by fiat or mere exhortation but by the power of the Holy Spirit. This great good news is becoming known. It needs to be carried, in haste and in charity, from congregation to congregation, from chapel to chapel.

The news will be received with difficulty—with some hardness of heart (the ears that hear not)—but also with joy. For there seems to be rising a new devotion in our many churches. And we look forward to the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in August 1948. That conference, one of the great assizes of our God, will audit the degree of faith and order which does prevail throughout the church and, inspired we pray by the Holy Spirit, will mark out the path whereby the faith of the whole church may be purified and its power mobilized for the saving of men and nations.

### *What Ought We to Mean?*

But what *ought* a Christian to mean by "the church"? I am not competent to offer, even at second hand, any systematic answer to that question. My approach must be a merely pragmatic one—the world's need for the church. It would be superfluous to take much time defining, or arguing, the world's need for the church. The statement of this need has become a truism. The world is in need of moral and spiritual values because man's technology has outrun man's morality. That is the truism; we have heard it a thousand times. To be sure, the truism is oftenest expressed not as a need for the church, but as a need for Christianity; or, even more generally, as a need for something called Christian "values"; or, still more vaguely, as a need for any kind of moral and spiritual "values."

Just as, when supplies of gold or copper or oil run low, men look around eagerly for new sources of supply of gold or copper or oil, so, our supply of morality being short, men cast about for additional moral reserves. Some of the more recently exploited fields—Marxism, Freudianism, humanitarianism, educationalism, to mention but a few—have proved a little disappointing, and therefore many are looking again with expectant hopes at that old gold mine, Christianity, which they thought had been worked out. Bring the Christian gold mine back into production! That perhaps is the temper of a modern hope.

### *Witness of a Better World*

But as Christians we must regard such an attitude as either pathetic or frivolous. For as Christians we must face a stern question: *Does* the church exist to save the world? And the first answer, of course, is that the church certainly does not exist to save the world as the world desires to be saved. On the contrary, the church exists to prophesy against the world. The church exists as chief witness of a better world, the Kingdom of God, and consequently as chief witness against "our" world. This is perhaps the first lesson we modern Protestants need to relearn. The church exists, of course, for other purposes besides prophecy. It exists to teach, to guide, to solace; it exists, fundamentally, in order that we may exist at all as Christians.

The proposition that either Christianity or the church exists to save the world as the world wants to be saved is,

of course, categorically and dramatically renounced in the earthly life and words of Jesus Christ. Not that the Christ of the Gospels does not love life, human life; he loves human life. Nor does he reject the body, the human body of man; he comes to redeem it. But he does reject—time and time and time again he rejects—what he calls "the world." "I pray for them. I pray not for the world." I am insisting on this biblical truth because it seems to me crucial for contemporary Protestantism. Of Christ's attitude to the world, George Santayana writes: "The whole machinery of life, by which the world is kept going—reproduction, labor, war, government, and the arts—is condemned or dismissed with aversion; yet the life of the body, in time and in the bosom of nature, is loved, purified, and preserved."

But if we sharply reject, as we must, the world's need as the world corruptly conceives it, what becomes of even a faintly pragmatic approach to the subject of the church? Here, I think, we come to the second lesson which Protestantism—American Protestantism—needs to learn. It is the lesson of the reality of history, the religious sense of history. God's church is not the same today as it was when Christ was on earth or as it was in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Its relation to the world is therefore both the same and different.

### *A History to be Proud Of*

One reason why modern Protestantism has lost sight of the necessity of the church, including its necessity in history, is related to a favorite Protestant notion that the church should be just like the early church. But the church of God today is not the early church. It is the early church *plus* two thousand years of history.

Between us and the early church is the obvious difference that we Christians have become a great thing in the world. They were the leaven in the lump; we have become the lump. In any case, we are no longer a handful. Christians of all sorts number 600,000,000 out of a total of 2,000 million people on earth. And it is not only what we are that counts; it is what we have been. The Christian church has *made* history; it has probably made most of all the human history that ever has been made. Science itself, with all its attendant wonders, is at least a grandchild of the church, having come out of the European civilization which the church largely created. And even today science and technology are greatest where Christians are most numerous—especially Protestants!

Christianity has been and is a very great thing in the world. The consequence being what? The consequence being that we Christians have a responsibility for the world such as the Holy Spirit clearly did not impose, as an immediate obligation, on the church of Pentecost. If today the laws of human society are not in conformity with the will of God, we cannot say that it is because God has not given us enough votes! He has! Or put the matter in terms of power politics. Who disposes of the overwhelming economic and military power of the world? Obviously, the so-called Christian nations. We have the votes that dispose of the power. This is an awesome thing. To have such power and not use it is certainly to be wicked and unprofitable servants, good for nothing except to be cast into outer darkness; to have this power and use it is certainly to become involved in sinful corruptions. We modern Christians are evidently caught in an awesome dilemma. We cannot, as the early Christians did, separate ourselves from the world. We are the world—a very large part of it, nearly one-third of it by count, two-thirds of it or three-quarters of it by power.

It is, I think, precisely by facing this dilemma that we can begin to see, once again, why the church is necessary, and what it necessarily must be. The church on earth must be a church that can cope with history. The church must be able to cope with history not only in order to fulfill its divine mission but also in order that individual Christians, who have no right to escape from history, may do their duty in and to the world of history.

### *In Answer to Today's Need*

The world needs the church. But, first of all, Christians need the church. We need the church, you and I, to sustain us in a far greater sense of fidelity to each other. We need the church so that common counsel, taken in God's presence, may be communicated from Christian to Christian across all barriers of localism, class, race, nation. We need the church for our mutual correction in our many occupations and vocations. We are faced today not only with the problem of personal salvation but, literally, with the sins of the world, which do so easily beset us—the sins of classes, races, empires, and countless towns and villages.

Obviously such a church, a church able to cope with history on the present scale and scope of history, must be a united church. Not of necessity a single monolithic edifice. But certainly a church—the church of churches, if you like—in which we may have actual experience of unity of spirit and action.

But Christians, good Christians, would hardly unite in any serious sense except in what they felt to be the true church. What is the true church? It is impossible to escape this question. And far from seeking to escape it, I am trying to pose it as sharply as I can, even if only by showing how inadequate are the notions of one Protestant layman. But we are also, I hope, on a path toward an answer. We are thinking of the church in terms of its mission. And two things have perhaps become apparent in sharp contrast with much recent laxity on this subject. First, the mission of the church is not to save the world for worldliness; the church is not to be used as a tool or instrument for merely human satisfactions. But, second, it is the mission of the church to cope with history.

### *The Knowledge of God*

How does the church cope with history? Happily this question is more easily answered, for here at last we stand on the solid rock of Protestantism and, surely, of all Christianity. The first and everlasting mission of the church is to bring continuously the knowledge of God into the world and to bring the world to the knowledge of God. As men come to the knowledge of God, and especially as they come to the knowledge of God in communion with one another, they learn to distinguish ever more sharply between God's will and man's will, and they cope, powerfully and dramatically, with history.

The knowledge of God! Knowledge? When we speak of knowledge we mean something pretty definite: we mean *facts*. The mission of the church, then, is to bring into the world the facts about God! But are there any facts about God? In the last few decades, much of American Protestantism has not only acted but spoken as if there were no facts about God.

### *Fuzziness about Beliefs*

It is true that our intelligentsia no longer treat religion as if it were, at best, a childish joke. But it pleases them to make a curious distinction between science and religion. Science, they say, is concerned with facts, and religion, by their kind leave, is concerned with something they call "values." This kind of talk, says Robert Bulkley in The Christian Century, "is sheer nonsense which would be laughable if it were not so dangerous." Let me quote him further: "Either God exists or he does not exist. That is not a matter of goodness or beauty but of truth. . . If it is true, Christianity is true; if it is false, Christianity is false, and any attempt to rehabilitate it and use it for its contributions in the field of value is both stupid and dishonest."

But for such stupidity, Protestantism has largely itself to blame. For Protestantism has long permitted and even encouraged, within the Christian flock itself, the most fantastically fuzzy ideas about God. This is an indictment. Who will deny it? Explain it, alibi it, forgive it, yes; but who will deny it? Listen to Canon Theodore Wedel of the Washington Cathedral: "An entire generation or more has grown up, even within the churches, who have never heard the true Christian gospel."

What a striking coincidence it seems to be—our modern fuzziness about God and our modern fuzziness about his church. But it is no coincidence. It is the same disease—a falling away from the faith which is to be received by grace but cultivated with all our mind in the faithful church.

### *Reformation Called For*

There was probably never a time when so many people were inquiring, sincerely, whether any knowledge of God exists or can exist. This is the incredibly great opportunity which now confronts the church of God on earth. If it requires a vast reformation in all the thought and habits of all the parts of God's church to meet this opportunity, then who will not pray that the work of the reformers be accomplished soon and well!

Let us cite a few specific items of reformation. First, Protestantism requires a stronger and better theology. We shall not presume to judge those leaders of the church who, twenty and thirty years ago, following popular fancy, gave high sanction to the notion that creeds and theology were useless and even baneful. No doubt those leaders, heading a sort of expedient retreat from the onslaughts of secularism, were doing what they had to do in their time. But it is certainly not what we have to do in our time. And we may give thanks to God that there is now rising mightily in the Protestant churches a stronger and more valiant theology.

Again, I would urge the Protestant pastorate that it should preach and expound more theology. The world, I say, is in a great quest for truth. Have you got the truth? If not, keep quiet. If you have the truth—with all due acknowledgment of sin and finitude—then tell us what it is, as exactly, as clearly as you can. We, in the church or out of it, will not be bored. Bored? We are thirsty for the truth! But we will be bored by stale moralisms or inept attempts to comment on current events. Do you know about God? That's what we, in the church and out of it, want to know.

And as for the Sunday schools, as for our children, why wouldn't it be a good thing to tell them about God? A church which cannot tell its children some facts about God is no part of the church of God. And what about Christianity in the public-school system which over the past century Protestants were mainly responsible for establishing? This is a tough question. But it is certainly time that Protestants, if they don't do anything else, united on a program to bring the knowledge of God to our boys and girls at school.

### *To Enlighten, not Confuse*

What about current events? In the past few decades, Protestantism, along with doing much good work, has too often contributed to the world's confusion not only about religion but also about politics and economics, about war and peace. Protestantism has been blown about by every wind of secular doctrine. Happily, just as Protestant theology is becoming clearer, so Protestant thinking on temporal problems is showing signs of making Christian sense. As long as the church fails to help the pastorate with sufficiently clear thinking, the consequence will be that, too often, what a parson says about economics or world peace on Sunday will on Monday seem utterly irrelevant. Not that the church will have, at any time, all the answers. The church on earth lives in perplexity, but it ought rather to enlighten than to confuse.

The fashionable Protestantism of the last decades was a non-creedal, non-theological, non-ecclesiastical Protestantism. It found many passages in the Scriptures to support its intellectually fuzzy, morally weak good-willism. It relied heavily, for example, on the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. If Protestants know anything, they know that thirteenth chapter—"But now abideth faith, hope, love, these three: and the greatest of these is love." But our attention ought also to be directed to the fourteenth chapter. In the fourteenth chapter of First Corinthians, following right after the glorious hymn to divine love, St. Paul is terribly concerned about order in the church—not so much ecclesiastical order as intellectual order. And in that chapter he makes this striking announcement about God: "God is not the author of confusion."

Confusion! Where have we heard that word before? Do we not hear it daily about everything in our time, and plenty often about Protestantism? What do people want to be saved from today? In a word, people want to be saved from confusion—confusion in their lives, confusion in the economic order and in the ordering of the world of nations; and most of all they want to be saved from confusion in their hearts and souls. Well, God is not the author of confusion! And we surely put no more wretched

barrier between a man and the grace of God than when we strew about the altar of God a mass of inanity and confusion.

The expression of the knowledge of God is by no means a pedagogical exercise. The truth is to be spoken in love. The law of God is love. God *is* love. That is the ultimate knowledge, ineffable, infinite, impossible and true. Yet in this time of profound perplexities and difficulties we do well to keep before us the words of that great Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Anselm: "Just as the right order of going requires that we should believe the deep things of God before we presume to discuss them by reason, so it seems to me negligence if, after we have been confirmed in the faith, we do not study to understand what we believe."

To understand what we believe, and to express it with some clarity and exactitude, is surely essential for Christian policy in the building of the great church which shall guide the city of man out of its present horrors and confusions toward the City of God.

# American Militarism

By H. C. Holdridge
Brig. Gen. USA (Retired)

THE PATTERN of militarism is already revealing itself in the United States. The situation dreaded by our founding fathers—military domination of the civilian population—is rapidly developing. This is a word of warning before it is too late. The armed forces are instruments of power at home and abroad. Let us examine the sources of their power.

The major strength of the armed forces lies in their assumption of a monopoly over national security. Although modern warfare concerns the entire population, they insist that they alone can speak with authority on military matters. Consequently, in time of war the representatives of the people abdicate their authority to the military. All paths lead to the Pentagon, in strategy, national resources, national economics, industry, manpower, education, religion and morals. In time of peace the same influences persist, especially now that we have become, in effect, an armed camp and sleep on our weapons.

## I

This monopoly is strengthened by two psychological weapons. First, if the armed forces are checked in any of their demands they raise a cry of "national disaster." Congress and the people, alarmed by these dire predictions and concerned over national security, yield to their demands. Second, through propaganda extending over many years the military have instilled in the minds of Congress and of the people a sense of guilt because we were not prepared in the past. As a matter of fact, our lack of preparedness in the past was largely the fault of the armed forces themselves, as will be explained presently.

Money is power. Never in the history of the world has any group wielded so much financial power as our armed forces wield today. During the war they exercised a government monopoly over the entire national economy, and had the spending of several hundred billion dollars. Even in times of peace the eleven billion dollars they have at their disposal is no small sum. Here is a form of patronage which places the military at the very center of national power politics. Small wonder that an occasional industrialist or politician is seduced by the smell of big money.

The armed forces are becoming past masters in the art of propaganda. They control one of the most powerful lobbies in Washington. Men in uniform have access to every important congressional office and committee. They carry with them the magic power of "national security." At critical times they can call for executive sessions which are barred to those who may oppose their views, and continue their pressure in secrecy. It would take a brave congressman to isolate himself as an opponent of the plans of the armed forces; he would probably be branded as un-American.

## II

The public relations bureaus of the Pentagon were set up at the beginning of World War II with a few officers and a handful of clerks. Now they are headed by officers of top rank—in the war department by a four-star and a three-star general—who are backed by subordinates of all grades and by great staffs of employees. These agencies of propaganda are reproduced in every major subordinate echelon. By means of newspapers, magazines, radio, motion pictures, lecturers, professional public relations personnel employed for the specific purpose, and other established techniques of high-pressure salesmanship, the armed forces are being "sold" to the American people. These lobbyists and propagandists are all financed by the American taxpayer to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars annually. Groups of citizens attempting to combat this organized propaganda must solicit small change from their membership, and then frequently find that publicity channels are closed to them in a controlled press which is in sympathy with the armed forces' program.

One of the most sinister developments in our history is the infiltration of military men into key positions formerly reserved to civilians. The process is too general to be accidental. Its extent is not fully known. Some of it we do know: a chief executive who has believed in military training since the time he served in the National Guard; a secretary of war as military minded as the army itself; a secretary of state who formerly headed the army; military men formally assigned as members of the state

department; other military men, assigned to the war department but holding desks in the state department, coordinating the army infiltration program into Latin America; military men as ambassadors operating under a military dominated state department; military attachés operating under the ambassadors; military men in other bureaus and departments of government, backed by military minded men who are members of old-line veterans' organizations which subscribe to the same philosophy; military men operating seized private industries so that a strike against the industry constitutes a strike against the military; similar infiltration into state and local agencies of government. The picture is one of a mushrooming military absolutism.

## III

Institutions must be judged by their leadership. What is the philosophy of these military leaders? Reaction is stamped on them as clearly as the indelible inspection marks on a quarter of beef. It is an aristocratic leadership oriented toward the most reactionary minorities of the country and having little understanding of the American people. It is separated by a system of caste from the mass of the enlisted personnel which is oriented toward the people as a whole. Herein lies the danger of the system of military caste, for it drives a wedge between two segments of our population. It is undemocratic and un-American, and dangerous to national security.

The military aristocracy is further bolstered in its position by a system of justice which places authority in the hierarchy of command, and finally in the Pentagon bureaucracy, instead of in the courts of the land.

The armed forces program for a compulsory military training demonstrates the full power of the military steam roller in action. These leaders know what they want. They believe in the offensive. They have tremendous power supporting them. They bring every influence within their control to bear upon the campaign, which is in every sense a military campaign directed against the desires of the American people. Fear and intimidation are the major weapons.

## IV

There is one fatal flaw in their position. They have made the issue of compulsory military training one of "national security," with threats of "disaster" to follow if they are checked in their efforts. As a matter of hard fact there is no security in the armies they propose to train by compulsion. Our army has always been behind in its thinking. Cavalry was obsolete for modern warfare in 1918, yet it was not abolished until 1946—28 years later. Meanwhile it absorbed vast sums in order to permit officers to indulge in horse shows and polo. Congressman Ross Collins of Mississippi labored fruitlessly to convert the army to concepts of modern warfare.

The greatest blunder of World War II was committed when the army leaders, many of them the same individuals who opposed modernization of our army, purged General Mitchell and his concepts of air power, and committed us to action, in advance, with the old mass armies of World War I. That blunder cost thousands of lives. In spite of the ground-minded leaders, air power won the war in both Asia and Europe. These leaders are now committing a like blunder for World War III by reverting to the techniques of World War I. The atom bomb and other weapons of terror render obsolete all previous military techniques, yet army leaders plead for the preservation of training facilities that have been proved outmoded. The reserves they propose to train by compulsion could not be mobilized in less than six months to a year, and would have to be retrained for another six months in the new techniques. The war would be over in as many hours or days. These proposed mass armies have already been by-passed by the new weapons, just as three million of the best Japanese foot soldiers were by-passed by MacArthur in China.

Now the army boasts of its new "triphibious" division which can fight by air, sea and land, and at the North Pole or in the jungles. Unfortunately, World War III will not be fought at the North Pole or in the jungles, but in Washington, D. C., and New York and Chicago and San Francisco and other centers of population. These divisions are already obsolete.

## V

If we are concerned about Russia we should face the fact that we could not haul to Russia enough men organized into mass armies to defeat her on her own soil. Napoleon and Hitler both tried it and failed, though they started on the same continent. On the other hand, we dare not use the new weapons of terror; to do that would certainly bring sudden and devastating retaliation. The state department and the armed forces know this to be true. There is no longer any security in armaments. The British high command has informed its government that the British Isles are indefensible. Our own high command can do no less, for the United States too is indefensible. The only line of national security is the diplomatic line, leading to world understanding.

Our military leaders know this to be true. Why then do they persist in foisting compulsory training in obsolete weapons upon the American people? Here their program becomes logical. You cannot use the atom bomb on the home front, but you can use the .30 caliber rifle. We must ask ourselves whether the war of nerves against Russia is not largely a smoke-screen to frighten the people into giving the armed forces what they want for use on the home front. During the last depression the army dusted off its plans to suppress domestic insurrection, and as an added security took over the supervision of thousands of our boys scattered in the forests under the CCC, where they could be controlled. Perhaps this time the program is designed to place them in military organizations, where they can be controlled, and where they can also be used to control other segments of our population. Instead of solving our economic problems with reason and understanding, perhaps we are preparing to solve them with bayonets.

We are being sold a bill of goods of "national security" by our armed forces. When delivery is made and we open the package we shall not find security but militarism. We shall find that we have traded our birthright of freedom

and democracy and morality for a mess of militaristic pottage. We shall find that we have bought not security, but annihilation.

Troubled days lie ahead which will demand a spirit of unity and cooperation and a revived faith in democracy. Other countries have walked the plank blindfolded and landed in militarism, bankruptcy and totalitarianism. Now we are caught in the same current. Our military leaders must awaken from their sleepwalking. The people of the United States must take positive and immediate action to check our drift toward complete militarization before it is too late.

# BOOKS

## Glimpse of Utopia

LAND OF PLENTY, A SUMMARY OF POSSIBILITIES. *By Walter Dorwin Teague. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $3.00.*

NOW for a more cheerful view of the present national scene and a more hopeful estimate of the possible future than most of the current news stories and magazine articles suggest. The viewers-with-alarm have had it almost all their own way in recent months. They tell us we won the war but lost what we were fighting for, everybody is starving except us and we are headed for boom-and-go-bust, labor and management are desperately embroiled to the ruin of both, education is a total loss because the teachers are all quitting and people don't read the great books, hatred and greed are rampant and there is no health in us. They not only say it but sometimes they seem to come near to proving it. Mr. Teague does not deny any of these symptoms of our social and economic malady, and most of them he does not even discuss, but he gives a different prognosis. He does not say that we *shall* recover, but he is sure we can. His is a "summary of possibilities," not a promise of certainties.

Mr. Teague is an industrial engineer and designer. His previous book, *Design this Day, The Technique of Order in the Machine Age* (reviewed in The Christian Century July 24, 1940), was a discussion of the possibilities of beauty in the processes and products of mechanized industry. He is a thorough modernist in design, and a brilliant exponent of Louis Sullivan's dictum that "form follows function." In reviewing that book I said: "The author takes sharp issue with all the wistful yearners for a return to the good old days of handwork. The industrial revolution cannot be undone. We cannot escape to the Middle Ages, and we wouldn't like them if we could. An adequate job of world-building requires a great increase in the mechanical equipment we now possess, and the proper use of it will leave no room for unemployment." It may be said that in the present work Mr. Teague goes on from there. His initial clash is with those who think that we have gone as far as we need to go in production, perhaps even too far, and that all that is needed now is more equitable distribution. That latter proposition was more popular a few years ago than it is now. It found expression in President Roosevelt's declaration that "our industrial plant is built," and again in these words from the same high source: "Our task now is not the discovery of natural resources or necessarily of producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to establish foreign markets for our surplus production . . ." That was called a "mature economy"—meaning really a static economy as distinguished from the pioneer stage of industrial expansion.

On the contrary, says Mr. Teague, we need to produce more, as well as to distribute better what we produce. And, he says, we can do both. His immediate concern is with production. He is for an economy of plenty, rather than of scarcity. The material resources of the country, its raw materials, industrial plant, etc., have been surveyed by others. His concern is rather with the scientific and technical processes which promise vastly more and better production. Some of his chapter titles indicate the fields in which he sees vistas of exciting development on the basis of resources and knowledge that we now possess: "Power to do as we Please," "And now we Unlock the Atom," "We can make the Materials we Need," "We can Move as we Please," "Into the Airways," "We can Provide Millions of Homes," "And Furnish them Decently," "In Gracious Communities." But he does not assume that these things alone will make the earth an Eden; so there are other chapters—"We can Build a Better People," "Ways to Felicity," "The Way to Freedom," "Ways to Unity."

All this (except the last part) sounds like a Du Pont broadcast on "better things for better living through chemistry," though Teague adds physics, metallurgy and engineering. But before and after and through these alluring prospects of material advance runs a line of argument linking freedom and peace with prosperity, and stressing the role of the free individual, whether enterpriser or worker, in the industrial and economic process. He warns against "statism," which, as he sees it, includes some things that many liberals and most social left-wingers consider legitimate governmental activities. He is critical of both the political and the economic aspects of TVA. He considers it the state's business to police the citizen's methods of getting and using money, but not to say how much he shall have, or to try to redistribute the capital values represented by money. Capital must exist in large volume in private hands and be kept usefully busy. "For the state to absorb these values into its own sterile system [presumably by a heavy tax on profits], instead of encouraging them to refertilize the productive process, is worse than a political crime; it is a surgical blunder." The government "should restore the citizen's confidence that the taxing power will not be used to impede or wreck his undertakings and that the state, although a rigorous policeman, is a friendly protector and not a conniving enemy."

It will be seen, therefore, that this book represents a definite theory of the relation of government to industry. One may take that or leave it without losing the value of that part of the argument which relates to "more and better things for better living." But one other troubling question arises. What about the rest of the world? The book's outlook is largely national, though not exclusively so. Dr. Hutchinson was telling us last week (page 327) that practically all other nations fear America. If this is true, my own explanation would be that they fear because they hate, and that they hate because they envy. In spite of our other troubles, we are well fed. In addition to their other troubles, they are ill fed. They have some reason to fear that we, in our desire to maintain and improve our own economic position, will adopt

policies which will make theirs even worse. This cuts even deeper than the fear that we will cease to contribute to their relief and rehabilitation. As Mr. Teague sees it, "our own garden is our first responsibility"; and this book is about the possible fruits of our garden. But he also sees that (using a different figure of speech) "we cannot travel very far unless the rest of the world advances along the same road." How to take the rest of the world with us in our advance without bogging down under the load—that is the problem. This book gives a blueprint for utopia, but only for an American utopia, while recognizing that such an Eden can never exist in the midst of a surrounding wilderness. We can't be an oasis in a world-wide desert. Still, it is cheering to be assured that our springs still flow and our palm trees are not withered.

W. E. GARRISON.

## Books Received

*(Some of these will be reviewed)*

*The Quarry.* By Mildred Walker. Harcourt, $3.00. A novel.

*The Social System of the Modern Factory: The Strike, A Social Analysis.* By W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low. Yale University Press, $3.00. Volume IV (two more to come) of Lloyd Warner's "Yankee City" series—a project of sociological research almost unmatched in its thoroughness—gets down to facts and forces in the field of the average American's most intense interest. The problems of labor, management and strikes are as insistent as (and related to) that perennial question, When do we eat? In this volume the authors consider one strike in one city and answer four questions about it which probe deeply into the whole country's industrial situation. The questions can be merged into two: Why do strikes now succeed where they formerly failed? How did the unions get so strong?

*The Doctrine of the Imitation of God in Plato.* By Culbert Gerow Rutenber. King's Crown Press, $1.50.

*Bring Hither the Timbrel, Selections from the Book of Psalms.* By Harry Herschel Shapiro and Mildred Whitney Stillman. Idlewild Press, Cornwall-on-Hudson, N. Y., $2.00. Various English versions are drawn upon for the rendering of Psalms or parts of Psalms that have been found most helpful.

*Kilvert's Diary, 1870-1879, Selections from the Diary of Rev. Francis Kilvert.* Edited by William Plomer. Macmillan, $3.00.

*The Presidents and the Press.* By James E. Pollard. Macmillan, $5.00. Washington was a regular reader of the newspapers, though he sometimes found them "more troublesome than profitable." He realized that "the eyes of Argus are upon me," and sometimes Argus had also a bitter tongue. The hostile press was one of the reasons he gave for his reluctance to accept a second term. From that beginning, Mr. Pollard continues with a meticulously documented account of press reactions to presidential policies and presidential reactions to the attitudes of the press down to Roosevelt's third administration. The whole is a survey of American political history in the light of press relations. (For a chuckle: "He had his feet of clay, of course, but they were relatively small . . ." Well now, if one is going to have feet of clay, the bigger the better for purposes of stability.)

# *CORRESPONDENCE*

## 'Now Will Protestants Awake?'

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: May I commend The Christian Century for its stirring editorial, "Now Will Protestants Awake?" (February 26 issue), which ought to be read by every Protestant minister and layman who is truly interested in preserving our heritage, and religious liberty in particular. I also wish to comment upon the article, "Report on Wisconsin," by my friend Rev. Charles R. Bell, Jr., of Madison, who gave such able and dynamic leadership in our successful fight last fall against the bus bill. I certainly agree with his splendid presentation and with his insistence that a national committee on religious liberty should be formed at once. May I also speak of another point which he made in the experience we had in Wisconsin.

Dr. Bell refers to the difficulties of finding a quick and effective way to reach our Protestant leadership in the state. I believe this is pretty general in most states. We should have a more effective Protestantism at work in "functional cooperation." As cooperators, let us face faith and order; let us look for sound cooperative theory and philosophy, so that we know what we are doing; let us see how we can bring from a disunited Protestantism more functional unity. Let's get at first things first.

Too many executives of state councils of churches are left in a "no-denominational-land" of isolation, which accounts, in large part, for the startling turnover of council executives over the last 20 years. Something ought to be done, so that less is thrown on the council executives, who are glad to hazard Christian adventure in ecumenicity but do not enjoy bucking almost insuperable odds—insuperable when judged in proportion to the leadership resources available.

Let us delegate more power on program and policy. We cannot have strong cooperative work here and now if, at every turn, the cooperative agency has to clear its authority, its mandate, its decisions with denominational sources. This is not sound management. This is not effective Protestant strategy at a time of ever growing and increasing crucial needs. We need also trained ecumenical leaders who are backed up by denominations and given a standing comparable to that which they would receive in denominational work.

Wisconsin Council of Churches, Madison, Wis. — ELLIS H. DANA, Executive Vice-President.

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EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I can no longer refrain from writing and expressing my feelings. "Report on Wisconsin" by Charles R. Bell, Jr., and the editorial "Now Will Protestants Awake?" have made me dash for my typewriter. For some time I have felt disturbed by the indifference of Protestants to the steady pressure of Roman Catholicism. I am still disturbed, the more so because I don't know what I can do about it. How can we sufficiently arouse our sleeping Protestants? Your splendid magazine is not getting to the masses. It is read by a select group. In my own parish, for instance, I can get this week's issue into the hands of but a few. The local press will not touch such "poison." Our denominational magazines shy away from it. My people are largely intermarried with Roman Catholics. I would place the church in jeopardy by attempting to take this into the pulpit. I am convinced that more people must be made acquainted with the facts. Have you any suggestions as to how this can be done?

Hope Presbyterian Church, Watertown, N.Y. — MERRITT W. UPDYKE.

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EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: On February 16 I cited in my sermon, as a point against interfaith relations, the recent Supreme Court decision concerning the use of public funds to pay bus transportation for parochial school pupils. In this week's issue of The Christian Century I read, with great appreciation, your blast against the same decision. Further, in this week's issue of *Time* I find that article highlighted and quoted in its religion department, which quotation I am calling to the attention of my congregation this Sunday.

I have but one wish: that your article might reach the desk of every Protestant clergyman in the United States. I hope that, as

*Time* phrases it, you will continue to "set off periodic charges of dynamite."

Baptist Temple, ALBERT M. MCCARTNEY.
Rochester, N.Y.

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EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I heartily commend your editorial, "Now Will Protestants Awake?" and also the article by Charles R. Bell, Jr., "Report on Wisconsin." I hope you will keep this matter before the people. The Protestant churches will have to become more militant. We have been too afraid of being called intolerant. The things that have been going on in the church world should open our eyes to the fact that tolerance has become a one-sided affair. All our conference resolutions and requests have got us nowhere. They have been pigeonholed and forgotten. Let us put some "demand" in them. We are not militant against any other church, but we do need to be more militant for our own.

Port Allegany, Pa. WILLIAM SWALES.

## So What, Dr. Bainton?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Roland H. Bainton must be given credit for his hair-splitting scholarship in the article "Let's Agree on the Reformation!" But my reaction is—so what? What if Luther's words *were* garbled, he *did* teach utter submission to constituted authority. And what does it matter who coined the word "Protestant," or whether a certain papal brief was authentic? What if Luther *was* a hero—we can still have good Catholics. Or maybe he *was* a reprobate—we can still have good Lutherans.

We mock people who try to find Mayflower immigrants among their ancestors. Yet we spend much time and newsprint with denominational genealogies. I have to laugh every time I hear a fellow Baptist trying to prove that there is an unbroken line of churches that practiced immersion from Jesus Christ down to us, therefore Baptists are not "Protestants," but are in a blue-blooded category all their own!

Let's talk about things that really matter.

Ottawa University, MILAN LAMBERTSON.
Ottawa, Kan.

## Is Justice Roberts Competent?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: One sentence in your editorial entitled "Amnesty Claims to be Studied" is optimistic in view of the personnel of the recently appointed "President's amnesty board." You state: "If the new board . . . recommends a pardon which will free objectors still in prison and restore civil rights . . . it is presumed that the President will act as the board recommends." A reasonable presumption also! But remember Pearl Harbor!

Owen Roberts, chairman of the President's amnesty board, is the same man who for the late President Roosevelt investigated the Pearl Harbor disaster which catapulted this nation into the war. The Roberts report on that historical event charged "dereliction of duty," a serious charge against army and navy personnel and a sufficient basis for court-martial. President Roosevelt had already removed the area commanders and this report furthered their blackened reputation and shame. Remember?

After the war and much delay, the secretaries of war and navy in their report on Pearl Harbor directly contradicted the Roberts report. They said, in part: "On the basis of available evidence no grounds exist for court-martial of area commanders or others in the service." If no grounds existed for court-martial, there was no "dereliction of duty," as the Roberts report charged. However, the area commanders are still condemned and disgraced by that report. Actually, of course, the administration ignored the Roberts report and pursued its own course.

Now Mr. Roberts, as chairman of the President's amnesty board, is asked to designate conscientious objectors of World War II who merit pardon by the government. Can he do better with conscientious objectors than with area commanders? Who will have confidence in his recommendations? Even if his reports on c.o.'s are made in "good conscience," what assurance do we have that the department of justice will not counteract his recommendations, as the army and navy have done in the Pearl Harbor case?

Cannot amnesty be settled by the applications of moral and ethical principles? Is it not immoral for a man or a government of men to conscript others in order to teach and cause them to kill their fellow human beings? Is it not right that all so-called violators of the selective training and service act (they are actually conformists or adherents to the moral law when they decline to cooperate with conscription) be asked to forgive the government which abused them by public trial, incarcerated them in foul prisons and deprived them of civil and other rights?

Methodist Church, LLOYD B. SCHEAR.
Lewisberry, Pa.

## Not Quite the Same

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Due to a slight editorial change in my newsletter in the issue of January 15, the paragraph telling of a proposed ordinance to prohibit discrimination in licensed amusement parks read: "Negroes have been beaten up and thrown out of the park [Euclid Beach] when they have attempted to gain access to it." It should have read: "Colored people, on being denied park facilities or the right to mingle with whites, were beaten up and ejected from the park."

Cleveland, Ohio. D. R. SHARPE.

## To Whose Voice Should We Listen?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It is to be regretted that in your latest editorial tirade against Secretary of State Marshall you accuse him of acting against the true interests of America, and against the wishes of the majority of the American people, in his efforts to have Congress enact a policy of universal military training combined with education, for the evidence on both counts is entirely upon the reverse side from yours.

On February 17, the Gallup poll announced the result of its poll on the question, "Do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to take military training for one year?" The replies were: Yes, 72 per cent; No, 23 per cent; undecided, 5 per cent.

Your readers should know that Secretary Marshall represents three-quarters of the American people in this endeavor to keep America a strong, rather than a weak, participant in world co-operation, while you, and the church bodies which pass resolutions in the names of their members, represent less than one-quarter of the people.

The majority of the American people will not accept your attempt to delude them into the idea that armament and power are inherently evil. Men fought with stones before there was any armament, and in our era of modern armament Finland fought against Russia even though she was pitifully underarmed. If the cause is great enough, men will use their bare hands to hurl the stones. Disarmament will never stop a struggle; it will only weaken the power of those who would maintain freedom and decency in the world and make them helpless before those who will use power for evil ends. Secretary Marshall is acting according to the wishes, and for the interests, of the American people.

Center Church, RUSSELL J. CLINCHY.
Hartford, Conn.

[The Christian Century did not at any time declare that a majority of the American people oppose conscription. We do not accept the Gallup poll as decisive, for the question might have been put in another form and received quite another response. But even if the issue were stated baldly and truly and the same percentage resulted, we would still be unimpressed. The Christian Century has never waited until the pollsters reported before it declared its position on an issue and we have no intention of beginning now. Regardless of what others may do, we are not yet ready to say that the voice of the people is the voice of God.—THE EDITORS.]

# NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

## German Church Reiterates Plea

**Replying to Those Who Would Assign Some Blame Abroad, Conference Again Stresses Repentance**

KARLSRUHE, GERMANY, Feb. 21.—One of the most important events in German church life in recent months was the reiteration by a conference of Evangelical (state Protestant) churchmen of the necessity for German repentance. The meeting was held in late January in Treysa, scene of a previous conference in the fall of 1945 which called upon the German church to repent for the sins of the past years. Since that time other church conferences and a number of ministers have urged the need for emphasis on the guilt of the German church for the Hitler regime and for complete repentance. This attitude has led many laymen and some ministers to ask why the church is silent on the guilt of other nations. They point to measures taken by the foreign occupying powers for control of the press, the school and the church on the ground of military requirement, and declare that these measures remind the populace of similar action on the part of the National Socialist government. They see in the expulsion of Germans from territories now assigned to Czechoslovakia and Poland a method used by the nazis.

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**Conference Refuses To Reverse Stand**

The recent conference at Treysa, announced theme of which was the preaching mission of the church, set itself to answer the arguments of those who ask how the church can proclaim the guilt of the nazi regime and not also proclaim that of the occupying powers in their treatment of Germans. It declared that the task of the church is to preach to its people its own sins, that judging the guilt of others tempts men to exonerate themselves for their misdeeds, and that emphasis on foreign guilt erects a wall between the Germans and their own guilt. The church, the conference said, will always work for justice, but its preaching will continue to center on repentance.

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**German Population Decreases**

Evidence of the human cost of war is provided by the census taken in the four occupied zones of Germany last October, which revealed a present population of 65,930,327 as compared to 69,622,213 in 1939. The population of Berlin has decreased from 4,250,000 in 1939 to 3,180,000. During 1946 there were three deaths for each birth in Berlin, and there is no reason to expect a reversal of the trend. Public health authorities report that during the recent cold wave 170 Berliners died from malnutrition and lack of fuel.

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**Germans Renew Friendship With Jewish Neighbors**

One of the most encouraging movements here at present is the renewed activity of German friends of the Jews. The virus of anti-Semitism is far from eliminated, and the migration of many thousands of Polish Jews who hope to use Germany as a route to Palestine has brought new problems. A few thousand German Jews who are members of synagogues still remain in the country, and groups of Jewish Christians have returned from concentration camps and exile to begin a new life as members of Christian congregations.

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**Pastors Lead Efforts for Reconciliation**

Leaders in the move to reconcile Germans and Jews are Pastors Maas and Grueber. During the nazi regime Grueber was head of a church welfare office for Jewish relief activities. His work was terminated in 1941 when he was sent to a concentration camp. Maas, a prominent Heidelberg pastor, worked vigorously in the same office and also enlisted the aid of the League for Peace and Friendship Through the Churches. He was dismissed from his pastorate in 1941 and a few months later, at the age of 67, was sent to a labor battalion. Both men attended the conference of Jews and Christians at Oxford in 1946 and are carrying on the work of the conference in Germany. Along with other pastors they seek to spread an attitude of tolerance and brotherhood, as well as doing what they can for material relief of distressed Jewish people. The suspicion and distrust on both sides are tremendous, and to a large extent the ultimate success of the work depends upon the ability of the world to find a home for the numerous Jews who feel that it is impossible for them to remain in central Europe.

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**And So Forth**

The first major tangible step toward resettling displaced persons is the offer of Belgium to accept 30,000 coal miners with their families. Brazil is reported to be considering a similar proposal, and there is agitation in France and England in favor of such immigration.

War criminal trials continue in full blast. Along with political and military figures, professional men are now coming before the courts. Current trials include those of doctors charged with performing inhuman experiments on inmates of concentration camps, and judges accused of perverting the legal system.

The continued requisitioning of housing for occupation army dependents is a constant source of friction. The total amount of such housing is small, but the local impact is severe. Evicted Germans frequently turn to the clergy for help, and this occasionally leads to unfortunate incidents. In Karlsruhe a priest was killed while protesting the removal of furniture. Witnesses testified that the priest had attacked the guard. Such instances are rare, but tension is present in every community where army dependents are quartered.

CHESTER L. HUNT.

**Missionaries in Japan To Total 565**

American Protestant churches plan to send 500 missionaries to Japan within the next three years. The number there now is 65.

## C. W. S. Appeals For Lenten Gifts

**Suggests Accelerated Program as Spur to Achievement of the $12,000,000 Goal Set for Present Year**

NEW YORK, March 7.—Church World Service has sent out an appeal to the Protestant groups cooperating in its relief and reconstruction program for special gifts during Lent. A letter from Leslie B. Moss, promotion director for the service, declares: "The physical and spiritual illnesses which today afflict humanity are for those with understanding hearts a compulsion to greatness of living on our part. Let our people see that the church is the vehicle for imparting a transforming ministry to a distraught world." Goal of Church World Service during the coming year is $12,000,000 in addition to 23,000,000 pounds of clothing, shoes and bedding. Contributors are asked to send gifts of money and clothing through their local churches. Those with no local church may mail gifts of money to Church World Service headquarters, 37 E. 36th St., New York city, and gifts of material aid to the service's warehouse at New Windsor, Md., or to any of the regional warehouses. Addresses of the regional warehouses are as follows: 21-21 44th St., Long Island City, N. Y.; 236 Beacon St., Boston; 134 N. Patterson Blvd., Dayton, Ohio; 510 S. Elm Ave., Webster Groves, Mo.; 2247 E. Marginal Way, Seattle 4; 1145 E. Tenth St., Richmond, Calif.; 7110 Compton Ave., Los Angeles 1; and 740 Esplanade Ave., New Orleans 16.

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**Chief of Chaplains Retires**

Fellow chaplains this week honored Robert Workman at ceremonies recognizing his retirement, with the rank of rear admiral, after 36 years of continuous navy service. Chaplain Workman has served as chief chaplain of the armed forces. Speakers who praised his devotion and leadership included the commandant of the third naval district; William R. Arnold, retired chief of army chaplains; Rabbi David de Sola Pool of the National Jewish Welfare Board; Episcopal Presiding Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill; and William N. Thomas, chief of naval chaplains.

* * *

**L.I.D. Honors Trygve Lie**

At the 42nd annual luncheon of the League for Industrial Democracy, 400 members of the organization and 20 representatives of various nations heard an address by Trygve Lie, secretary general of the United Nations, who was awarded a scroll memorializing him for his leadership of the U.N. and his devotion to democracy. "We cannot hope to give the people of the world an improved existence on a permanent basis unless we are relieved of the threat of further war between the nations," said Mr. Lie. ". . . We cannot be satisfied by the conviction that the great

# TWO BREACHES IN THE WALL--

# WILL PROTESTANTS AWAKE?

SEPARATION of church and state is Protestant. It is American. The wall of separation has again been breached. The Supreme Court made a breach in 1930. It gave sectarian schools access to public funds to pay for textbooks. Today it gives pupils of parochial schools tax money to pay bus transportation.

**Two Breaches in the Wall!** Others are coming. The four dissenting justices of the Supreme Court warned that a third and fourth breach, and others, will surely follow. The way may then be opened for parochial schools to get their entire support from tax money. Think what that will mean to the public school—the bulwark of democracy! Think—and act!

**Every Protestant churchman** — every American citizen—must be kept informed on this and other urgent public questions. The Christian Century is leading the American press in their discussion. Its voice carries far, but not far enough. You can magnify its voice. You can make it echo in every church and forum, in every town meeting and legislature, in the land. You can make it heard in Congress.

HOW? By cooperating with thousands of others in extending the circulation of The Christian Century among the laymen of your church. The churches are in the midst of Lent. Easter is coming. This is a good time to enlist lay men and women as regular readers. They need to know what is going on in the Christian world. Do you know a better way to inform them than by getting them to subscribe to The Christian Century?

Five Special Rate *New Subscriber* Certificates were recently mailed to every Christian Century subscriber. These certificates afford a convenient way to enroll new subscribers, including a money-saving offer of $1.50. If you did not receive yours, or have mislaid them, send for more. The coupon makes it easy for you to send your order.

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powers of the world will not engage in another conflict within the foreseeable future. We can only be satisfied when we have driven out of people's minds the thought that war is a practical possibility, not only in 1947 or in 1955, but forever." In addition to listening to Mr. Lie, L.I.D. members took part in discussions on "Problems of a Cooperative Society" and "What Next in Labor Relations?" The organization's two student secretaries reported on the leagues on college campuses. Harry W. Laidler is secretary of the L.I.D. and Mark Starr of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is president.

* * *

**'Y' Maintenance Workers Set Up Picket Line**

Pickets have been walking peacefully up and down this week before the doors of two Y.W.C.A. residences in Brooklyn, where 62 maintenance workers are striking for a raise of 15 cents an hour and a reduction in weekly working hours from 48 to 44. Activities in the buildings are greatly curtailed, though heat and limited elevator service have been maintained. Some board members have been hesitant to pass the picket lines. The Y.W.C.A. board made offers this week which, it is hoped, will settle the dispute.

* * *

**Appeal for Aid to Finnish Children**

The Save the Children Federation is appealing to "1,000 generous persons" to sponsor that many suffering children in Finland. Cost of each sponsorship for a year is around $96. The aid will be administered by the Mannerheim League in Helsinki. Varying combinations of clothing, food, money or special supplies such as each case requires are to be delivered.

* * *

**And So Forth**

A three-hour ceremony witnessed by 2,500 persons was presided over in St. Patrick's Cathedral Saturday by Cardinal Spellman, the occasion being the ordination of 33 priests. At a special *S'micha* convocation at Rabbi Elchanan Theological Seminary of Yeshiva University on Sunday, 85 rabbis who were graduated during the war were ordained.

Fr. Vincent J. Powell, director of the Catholic Youth Organization of the Brooklyn diocese, announced this week that his group has withdrawn from its affiliation with the Knothole club, which sponsors attendance at Brooklyn Dodger baseball games, as a means of expressing disapproval of the "conduct on and off the baseball diamond" of Leo Durocher, manager of the Dodgers. "He is not the kind of leader we want our youth to idealize and imitate," said the letter of withdrawal.

A committee of Brooklyn citizens including a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi and Jewish laymen, Protestant clergy and lay leaders, both white and Negro, and a member of the local board of education has been formed to back the FEPC bill which has been introduced in Congress.

H. Norman Sibley, pastor of University Heights Presbyterian Church, has been elected president of the Bronx division of the Protestant council of New York. Winfield Burggraaff, pastor of the Huguenot Park Reformed Church, is president of the newly formed Staten Island division of the council.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

# Launch Series of 'Atom' Institutes

**In Washington, D. C., Rally, a National Committee of Scientists Sets Off Campaign to Inform Public**

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 3.—The first of a series of institutes to be sponsored in major cities by the National Committee on Atomic Information was held here in mid-February. Seventy-four civic and educational groups are uniting in an effort to instruct the public on the implications of atomic development. At the Washington meeting Luther Evans, librarian of Congress, surprised his audience by criticizing the atomic scientists as frantic prophets of "hellfire and damnation." He asserted that because of their ignorance of the way the world works socially, they have produced a fear so horrible that the result has been little more than "a closing of the public mind, an averting of the public eye."

* * *

**Federation of Churches Achieves Its Goal**

The Washington federation of churches set a new record by completing its financial goal during the month set aside for its annual campaign. By Feb. 21 congregations and individuals had contributed or pledged more than the needed $44,100. The total budget is $68,919, of which $24,819 will come from the community chest and other sources. Nearly 200 churches, representing 22 denominations and other agencies, are members of the council. The federation's board of directors is opposing the request of the moving picture machine operators' union that the District of Columbia commissioners require licensing of operators of 16 mm. movie projectors, contending that payment of $65 for a license would hamper the increasing use of visual aids by churches. The board is supporting the deficiency appropriation proposed as a means of permitting larger grants to persons on public relief rolls in the district. It has also announced its approval of this country's participation in the International Trade Organization.

* * *

**University Auditorium Lifts Racial Restrictions**

The day after Lincoln's Birthday, the board of trustees of George Washington University voted to remove racial restrictions on attendance at the university's beautiful new Lisner auditorium and to ban commercial theatrical productions there. For many months various groups have protested against the former policy which banned Negroes from affairs held in the auditorium. The National theater in downtown Washington is now the target of an intensified campaign to secure the right of Negroes to attend the legitimate stage productions presented there. Washington pastors are rejoicing over George Washington University's announcement that it will open a department of religion next fall. The university is seeking to forward a strong program of counseling, guidance and religious activities among its 15,000 students. Other new departments to be added in the

school's $30,000,000 expansion campaign are geology and geography. A new hospital is under construction.

* * *

### Niemöller Visits 37th City

Washington's largest auditorium, Constitution hall, was crowded when Martin Niemöller spoke there during his Feb. 13-14 visit in this city—the 37th he has visited since Seattle. Later the famous German pastor addressed 650 ministers at Hamline Methodist Church, and in other meetings he talked to a number of gentlemen from Capitol Hill. At the Constitution hall meeting Pastor Niemöller testified that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against the church of Christ," and declared that we are not the same Christians as we were 12 years ago, that a new spirit is abroad, that in the World Council of Churches "something great and different is going on." At the ministers' meeting he spoke from the text, "What shall I cry?"—pointing out that the question described his own bewilderment on his release from imprisonment. His ultimate discovery, he said, was that he must address himself to the sins of the people of God, preaching personal guilt and divine forgiveness.

* * *

### Addresses National Leaders

Perhaps the most interesting contacts made by Pastor Niemöller here were at a luncheon attended by 40 clergymen, congressmen, persons in the departments of state and commerce and representatives of two universities, the Washington board of trade and the National Education Association. The group represented 11 Protestant denominations. The German clergyman replied to questions on the church and the state in Germany, on European relief needs, on the future of the Evangelical Church in Germany and on the political probabilities in central Europe. He expressed the opinion that Christianity must form the bridge between "the basic Eastern emphasis upon the community as essential and the Western emphasis on the importance of the individual." In order that the two emphases may meet without conflict, he declared, the political mind must look more than ever before to Christianity. Mrs. Niemöller returned from a two-week speaking tour to rejoin her husband here. She addressed 900 women at Luther Place Lutheran Church Feb. 16.

* * *

### And So Forth

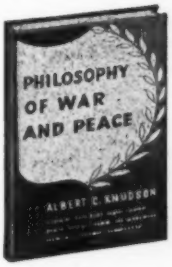
Howard Stone Anderson, pastor of First Congregational Church, Washington, for 10 years, has resigned to accept a call to the 2,500-member United Congregational Church in Bridgeport, Conn.

The Library of Congress has come into possession of the original manuscript of a three-page autobiography written in longhand by Abraham Lincoln, a document which was the basis for what has been called the "first published life of Lincoln" and which appeared in two columns of the Chester, Pa., county *Times* on Feb. 11, 1860. The manuscript is the gift of a Medford, Mass., minister, Robert Dale Richardson, whose grandfather, Jesse W. Fell, requested and secured the autobiography from Lincoln.

RALPH W. TABOR.


## THE PHILOSOPHY OF WAR AND PEACE

**By Albert C. Knudson**




Dr. Knudson traces mankind's apology to himself and to posterity for war since the beginning of time. He outlines the modern causes for war from a nationalistic, imperialistic, and race superiority point of view. After showing the modern trend toward an attempt at world peace, he states firmly and finally what this peace must be. With the dawn of the Atomic Age man will surely destroy himself unless he learns to live with his neighbor. "The road that leads to peace," says Dr. Knudson, "is not through separation or domination, but through learning how to live together." **$2**

## RACISM: A World Issue

**By Edmund D. Soper**

Dr. Soper's book is the result of several years of group thinking in the field of race relationships. Against a clear historical background, it presents the issues at stake and the reasons for racial prejudice. It shows how racism has affected, and is still affecting the economic, social, religious, and political phases of life today. It offers knowledge and understanding as the solution to racial prejudice. Dr. Soper says: "A deep abiding conviction . . . together with the unfaltering resolution which must accompany it, is the only equipment which will not wear out during the years." **$2.50**

## WHITE MAN—YELLOW MAN

**By Arva C. Floyd**

Today these two groups stand at troubled truce. But what of tomorrow? Is there promise of permanent peace? "The causes of war are not always casualties of war," writes this penetrating author. He points out that the empire system and racial tensions are problems with which our generation has yet to deal. Here is an absorbing, well-balanced survey, painstakingly written from sound factual data. Ranging from earliest beginnings to our own day, it shows the underlying causes of conflict, and points a course—a positive course—that can lead to enduring international good will. **$1.75**

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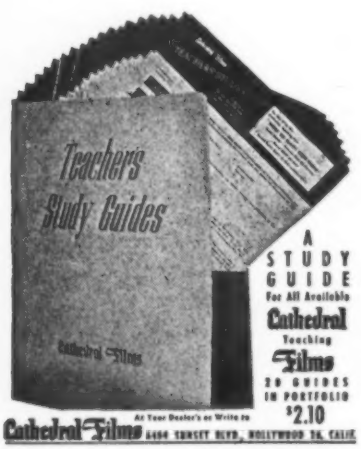


# Press Drive on Gambling Devices

**Washington State Church Council Joins Campaign; Raising of License Fees Considered Inadequate Move**

TACOMA, WASH., March 4.—The battle against gambling and pinball machines in this state has moved to the capitol in Olympia, where a bill to prohibit the operation of such machines as pay off in cash or prizes has been introduced into the legislature. At a public hearing, representatives of the P.-T. A., the W.C.T.U., and various councils of churches and ministerial groups urged passage of the bill. The primary concern of the legislators, however, seems to be to increase the revenue derived from license fees, and the bill will probably not be reported out for action by the house. Another bill, which has every chance of passing, would increase the percentage of the state's gross "take" on pinball machines from 10 to 20 per cent, and on slot machines in private clubs from 30 to 40 per cent. The more the revenue, it seems, the more difficult it is to eliminate its source. Even with this increase in license fees, it is doubtful that the state will get all the money it is entitled to, for there is no possible way of determining just how much each machine grosses.

* * *

**Tacoma Continues Crusade Against Gambling**

In Tacoma, where the council of churches and other groups have been conducting a campaign against pinball and gambling machines (see The Christian Century for Dec. 31, 1946), the city fathers, instead of listening to the protests, simply added 5 per cent to the license fee for the machines. However, the campaign has not been ended. Resentment against gambling is rising, and Loyal H. Vickers, executive secretary of the Tacoma council of churches, continues undaunted to lead the churches in their crusade. Other cities and counties are taking similar action, and the state council of churches has put itself vigorously on record as opposed to the continuation of the gambling machine traffic. The sheriff of Spokane county has forced the removal of all punchboards and similar devices of chance, and is being supported in his action by the county prosecutor. The sheriff of Snohomish county has seen to it that all pinball machines were removed in his territory.

* * *

**State Council of Churches Reports Successful Year**

At the annual session of the state council of churches in Yakima, the various departments reported a full year of activities. One of the most significant projects was the series of 35 Sunday school conferences held in strategic centers throughout the state. To each area the council sent a team of five persons which held morning and afternoon conferences and an evening inspirational service. In this way many communities were introduced to the advantages of cooperative Christianity, and the basis was laid for the formation of local councils. Frederick Pederson, superintendent of the Methodist Walla Walla district, was re-elected president of the council. Gertrude Apel is the executive secretary.

* * *

**Seek to Legalize Released Time Program**

The state council of churches has for some time been concerned with the problem of religious education on released time. Two years ago an enabling act to permit such instruction was passed by the state legislature, but the governor refused to sign it. The current session of the legislature has before it a proposed amendment to the state constitution which would accomplish the desired end. If it passes the proposal, the amendment will be submitted to the voters in 1948. If it is adopted, the provision of religious education on released time cannot be challenged in the courts as unconstitutional. At present, the fate of the proposed amendment is uncertain.

* * *

**Would Avoid Overchurching Newly Opened Areas**

The areas to be developed in the future around the Columbia river irrigation projects present great opportunities for religious work. The state council of churches has made careful surveys in a number of localities with a view to assisting denominations to locate their churches in the most strategic places. Only as the denominations agree to an over-all program can the error of overchurching be avoided.

* * *

**Teaching Missions Are Productive**

Spokane and Yakima have completed cooperative teaching missions under the direction of Harry Munro. Reports from Spokane indicate that the venture was especially gratifying to those churches which adopted the total program and carried it out with guest leaders. One church which studied its facilities for expanded work received 45 new members within the next week. Another enlisted 50 new Sunday school pupils immediately after the survey. Final results are expected to show that the cooperative undertaking has located many unchurched persons and identified them with some church.

WALTER O. MACOSKEY.

**Brazil Introduces Laubach Method**

Using a method based upon the system devised by Frank Laubach, Brazil has launched a nation-wide campaign against illiteracy.

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### PEDAL ACCESSORIES

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Swell Pedal located directly in the center of middle E—F gap on pedal clavier.

### SWELL AND GREAT MANUALS

Compass: CC to $c^4$, 61 notes.

Keys overhang a distance of 4" from the front edge of the Swell manual to a perpendicular line touching the front edge of the Great manual keys.

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The writer has been long known for his effective work with college students. This lucid and satisfying statement of Christian tenets will help any reader to coordinate, explain, and express his own faith. There are questions to aid discussion of each chapter, making it an excellent book for group study as well as for individual reading.

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*Association Press*

# Chicago Views Its Civil Service Body

**Pre-Election Activity Centers on Charge that It Masks Civic Corruption—General Opposes Conscription**

CHICAGO, March 7.—Activity in the municipal election campaign has turned the spotlight on the Chicago civil service commission, which many believe is the wall behind which corruption of the city's law enforcement and administration is entrenched. On Monday Virgil W. Peterson, former FBI agent and now head of the Chicago crime commission, civilian agency credited with doing the most to clean up crime here, loosed a blast calling the resignation of Irwin R. Tucker from the civil service commission a warning to the city. Tucker resigned his post in despair over the possibility of administering the office fairly after a policeman who had been suspended for brandishing a gun and creating a panic in a saloon while drunk was restored to duty. Mayor Kelly made no announcement of the resignation until a newspaper stumbled on to the case and sent a reporter to interview Tucker, on vacation in Florida.

* * *

**General Speaks in Opposition To Proposed Training**

Brig. Gen. H. C. Holdridge, U.S. army, retired, has spent a busy week here speaking in opposition to compulsory military training under the auspices of the committee against peacetime conscription. On Sunday he appeared on the Northwestern University "Reviewing Stand" program on radio station WGN. Later in the week he spoke at the Lawson Y.M.C.A., at Olivet Institute, at Roosevelt College and before many other groups. His attack centered on the inadequacy of the proposed training as an instrument of national defense. The only adequate defense in a military sense, he said, would be an army built upon technical skills rather than upon caste and tradition, but the only *real* defense would be through diplomacy, the making over of the U.N. into an instrument capable of preventing wars. Instead of the development of such a defense today, he said, he sees power being concentrated in military hands, a trend which would be accelerated by universal compulsory training of youth.

* * *

**Rheumatic Fever To Be Studied**

Northwestern University has been given $45,000 by the United States public health service and $15,000 by the Lederle laboratories division of the American Cyanamid Co. to establish an institute for research in rheumatic fever, the first of its kind in this country. Alvin F. Coburn, assistant professor of medicine in the college of physicians and surgeons of Columbia University, has been named to direct the institute, which will occupy a floor of the municipal contagious disease hospital of Chicago. Eight assistants will be in charge of the four biological and four chemical study areas into which the research will be divided. Dr. Coburn declared in a statement issued here last week that there are 1,000,000 cases of rheumatic fever in the country, that it is the chief cause of death in persons 20 to 24 years of age and that it is primarily a disease of the underprivileged.

* * *

**And So Forth**

Herbert H. Parish, director of the National Temperance Movement, which has its headquarters here, announces that 21 topics are scheduled for discussion at the second annual conference on the new approach to the alcohol problem, to be sponsored by the movement April 8-11 in Nashville.

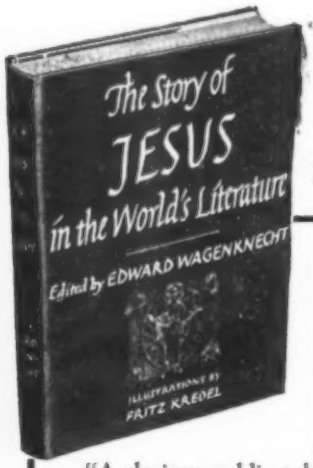
Pearl Rosser has been named by the International Council of Religious Education to direct its fourth workshop in visual education which will be held this summer at Green Lake, Wis.

Roy Smith, for the past four years head of the local church federation's ministry to Japanese-American resettlers, will return next month to Japan, where for 40 years he taught business English and foreign trade in the school of economics at Kobe University.

CHARLES L. VENABLE.

**Puerto Ricans Study Land Tenure**

Several score Puerto Rican ministers and government officials met at Bayamon in mid-February for a four-day rural pastors' institute and land tenure conference. Mark A. Dawber, executive secretary of the Home Missions Council, who is in Puerto Rico to launch an interdenominational rural reconstruction project, gave the principal address at the institute.

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# World Alliance Plans Meeting

**Memphis Is Host to Western Section of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System**

MEMPHIS, March 3.—The western section of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System met here Feb. 25-27 to discuss a program for the World Alliance meeting to be held in Geneva next August. That meeting will seek to correlate interests so that the alliance may participate as a unit in the first meeting of the World Council of Churches. Five discussion themes had been proposed for the Geneva program by the eastern section of the alliance, which embraces Asia, Europe and South Africa. Four of the five were adopted by the meeting here. The fifth, "essentials and non-essentials in church order," was changed to "the reformed doctrine of the church." A sixth point for discussion at Geneva was added by the Memphis meeting: "the world mission of the Christian church." This was considered imperative because of world changes wrought by the war. The other discussion topics adopted are "freedom and justice in the light of the Bible," "the form of public worship under the presbyterian system," "the present ecumenical situation" and "historic confessions and the present witness of the church."

* * *

**Act on Message to Czech Brethren**

Injustices suffered by the Dutch Reformed Church during the German occupation were described to the alliance meeting by Paul Aalders of Utrecht, Holland. William Barrow Pugh, American secretary of the alliance who has just returned from a tour of Europe, told the group that Presbyterian and Reformed church leaders in Europe are exhausted by the war. Stephan Szabo, pastor of the Hungarian Reformed Church of Toledo, Ohio, asked the alliance to appeal to the Czech Brethren Church and to the governments of the United States and Canada in behalf of the Hungarians who are being evicted from Czechoslovakia. He charged that the property of these Hungarians is being seized and that they are being driven penniless into Hungary. Dr. Pugh said in response that there are two sides to the question. Hugh Thomson Kerr, president of the western section, proposed that the body "express to the Hungarian Reformed Church our grave concern over the report, supply a copy of the charges to Czech Brethren and appeal to them to intercede in behalf of the Hungarians, and present the question to the World Alliance as a whole in Geneva next August." Dr. Kerr insisted that such an appeal would be better than to protest through the state departments of the United States and Canada. After spirited debate, the motion was adopted. John W. Woodside of Ottawa, Canada, was elected president of the section to succeed Dr. Kerr.

* * *

**Many Religious Observances Held in Memphis**

Brotherhood Week in the cities, religious emphasis week on college campuses and in training schools everywhere held the center of religious interest in the mid-south during February. Walter M. Casey, Catholic business man of Beaumont, Tex.; E. C. Nance, president of the University of Tampa; and John G. Winant, former ambassador to Great Britain, were Brotherhood Week speakers in Memphis. During that week Abe Scharff, a Jewish business man, gave $50,000 to enlarge the Negro branch of the city's Y.M.C.A. James A. Jones of Myers Park Presbyterian Church, Charlotte, N.C., conducted religious emphasis week on the campus of Southwestern University here. This correspondent performed the same service at Lincoln Memorial University. The World Day of Prayer program in Memphis drew an unusually large attendance. "Spiritual Mobilization" had Wilfred I. Orr of San Francisco speaking to Memphis ministers. At this writing a preaching mission is under way, sponsored by the Memphis council of churches. Jesse M. Bader of New York is leading the mission, assisted by 10 nationally known preachers.

* * *

**'Y' Plans to Expand**

An expansion program to bring the Memphis Y.M.C.A. up to the standard it should maintain for a city the size of this has been launched by the board of directors. A program to cost a minimum of $1,200,000, of which $1,000,000 is to be raised in gifts from local citizens, has been approved. It is hoped the remainder of the fund, from $200,000 to $300,000, will come from the nine railroads serving Memphis, this money to be used in building a railroad Y.M.C.A. Memphis, it is pointed out, is the largest city in the United States without such a service to railroad workers.

* * *

**And So Forth**

J. J. Walker, pastor of Central Christian Church, has been named chairman of a committee to arrange for groups in Memphis to pray for the success of the coming meeting of foreign ministers in Moscow. The group was named after Weyman C. Huckabee of New York, secretary of the Laymen's Movement for a Christian World, had suggested such action in an address to representatives of the council of churchwomen, the ministers' association and the council of churches.

Methodist Bishop Clement D. Rockey of the Lucknow, India, area spoke on "The Aftermath of the War and the Christian Movement in Asia" at the Memphis district missionary institute in mid-February.

Using as a theme "A Policy for the Negro in Postwar Southern Agriculture," farm leaders over the south gathered Feb. 28-March 2 in Jackson, Tenn., for a series of round table discussions dealing with some of the problems affecting the status of the Negro farmer. The three-day conference was part of the "southern fireside chats."

Ninety per cent of the students at the University of Tennessee are church members, according to a survey made by the university Christian association.

At its annual meeting the Board of Education of the Methodist Church went on record in opposition to peacetime military conscription. Copies of the resolution setting forth the board's views were sent to President Truman and other government officials.

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# Conduct Notable Brotherhood Plan

**Pittsburgh Program Rises Above Mere 'Courtesy'—Niemöller Welcomed by Enthusiastic Audiences**

PITTSBURGH, March 3.—A number of interfaith programs in schools, churches and forums this year lifted Brotherhood Month in the Pittsburgh area out of the categories of courtesy and custom. Balanced participation by Catholics, Jews and Protestants and by Negroes and whites in the public events gave expression to a wholesome community spirit of interfaith and interracial understanding and cooperation. An institute on human relations, featuring George B. Ford, pastor of Corpus Christi Catholic Church, New York, was arranged by the Pittsburgh round table, the American service institute, the Jewish community relations council and the local Urban League. Some 400 participated in the forum and clinical discussions. A similar number heard E. V. Cardinal, Chicago priest and educator, at the round table's annual meeting. Willis R. Jones was accorded recognition for an excellent record in his first year as regional director for the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Denominational ministerial associations assisted in arranging about 35 exchanges of pulpits between Negro and white ministers on Race Relations Sunday. Assignments were made by the interracial commission of the council of churches, under the chairmanship of L. B. Moseley. There were at least three exchanges between Protestant ministers and rabbis, with congregations merging for Friday night Jewish services and Sunday evening Protestant worship.

* * *

### Niemöller Stirs Pittsburgh

The coming of Martin Niemöller on Feb. 11 brought a new religious experience to this community, whose church activities are largely parochial and denominational. In the absence of an adequate assembly hall, the committee in charge provided amplification in three downtown churches to accommodate an aggregate congregation of 5,573 persons. First Presbyterian Church, where Pastor Niemöller delivered his address, was filled nearly three hours before the service began. The German pastor also appeared briefly at Trinity Cathedral and at Smithfield Evangelical Protestant Church, both of which were filled to capacity. The city's newspapers gave excellent reports of the message, in which ecumenical implications predominated. Norman C. Milliron was chairman of the committee of 60 representative churchmen called together by the council of churches to arrange the meetings.

* * *

### Schools Provide Sex Education

For six years the Pittsburgh schools have been offering a successful program of sex education for pupils in the eighth, ninth and tenth grades. Permission of parents is necessary for enrollment in the classes, which are arranged by the health department for each junior and senior high school. Boys and girls are segregated for five frank lectures by carefully selected teachers. The lectures deal with maturity, the beginning of life, venereal disease and ideals of marriage. In the concluding lecture a male physician addresses the boys and a woman physician the girls. L. M. Smith, school director of health, supervises the instruction. To the surprise of the authorities, 98 per cent of the parents have given consent for their children to attend the classes.

* * *

### City Has Three Noonday Lenten Services

The opening of Lent again finds downtown Pittsburgh with three simultaneous noonday services offered daily from Ash Wednesday through Good Friday. As a result none receives the publicity and attendance it deserves. Preaching at Smithfield Methodist Church (the Methodist Center) and at Smithfield Evangelical Protestant Church (Congregational) will follow an annual custom in the use of local clergymen. At Trinity Cathedral, guest preachers include such well known men as Alfred W. Price of Philadelphia, Louis M. Hirshson of Hartford, Ralph W. Sockman of New York, Bishop G. Ashton Oldham of Albany and Episcopal Bishop G. G. Bennett of Rhode Island. Clarence E. Macartney, Wilburn C. Campbell, N. R. High Moor and Bishop Austin Pardue round out the cathedral schedule.

* * *

### Macartney Opposes Women As Ministers

Opposition to the proposed ordination of women to the ministry of the Presbyterian Church has found a forthright spokesman in Clarence E. Macartney of First Presbyterian Church here. In a much discussed statement he has argued against the suggestion as without precedent, without New Testament authority and inexpedient. He asserts that neither women themselves nor the total church membership desire this step which, in his opinion, would tend to feminize the churches and further place the burden of church work upon women.

* * *

### And So Forth

Stuart Nye Hutchison, who retires on May 1 after 25 years at East Liberty Presbyterian Church, was honored by East End Protestant churches in a testimonial service in Calvary Episcopal Church Feb. 23.

Dorothy Doremus of New York became executive secretary of the central branch of the Y.W.C.A. here March 1.

More than 1,200 persons attended a testimonial dinner Feb. 19 for Charles Owen Rice, Catholic priest known as a friend of organized labor and for several years area director of the OPA. The assembly created congestion for the sessions of the national Protestant conference on the church and economic life being held on the same floor of the William Penn hotel.

R. G. LeTourneau, Illinois industrialist who has been called "God's business man" because he gives 90 per cent of his income for religious work, addressed the annual Washington's Birthday breakfast of the Episcopal church club. He spoke at a "Youth for Christ" rally in the evening.

D. D. Harris has resigned his pastorate at suburban Sewickley to accept a call to Tabernacle Baptist Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

O. M. WALTON.

# Seek Advice on Indian Minority

**South Africa Plans Board to Provide Guidance on Problem—Churchmen Urge an End to 'Pass' Laws**

MOWBRAY, SOUTH AFRICA, Feb. 20.—The government has announced its intention to set up an Indian advisory board to guide it in its endeavor to provide increased facilities for the Indian minority in this country. The success of such a board's efforts would depend as much on its membership as on its spirit, and since it is not yet known whether the Indians would cooperate the future of the project is very uncertain. In respect to the Indian problem, the government feels that it cannot move faster than public opinion will permit. However, in proposing the board it is taking a first step on what will probably prove a long road to constructive solution of this difficult problem. It is to be hoped that the moderate element will prevail over the extremists. Unfortunately extremists are not confined to the Indian minority. In Transvaal province a concerted attempt has been made to boycott the Indians through the launching of an "anti-Asiatic campaign on economic grounds."

* * *

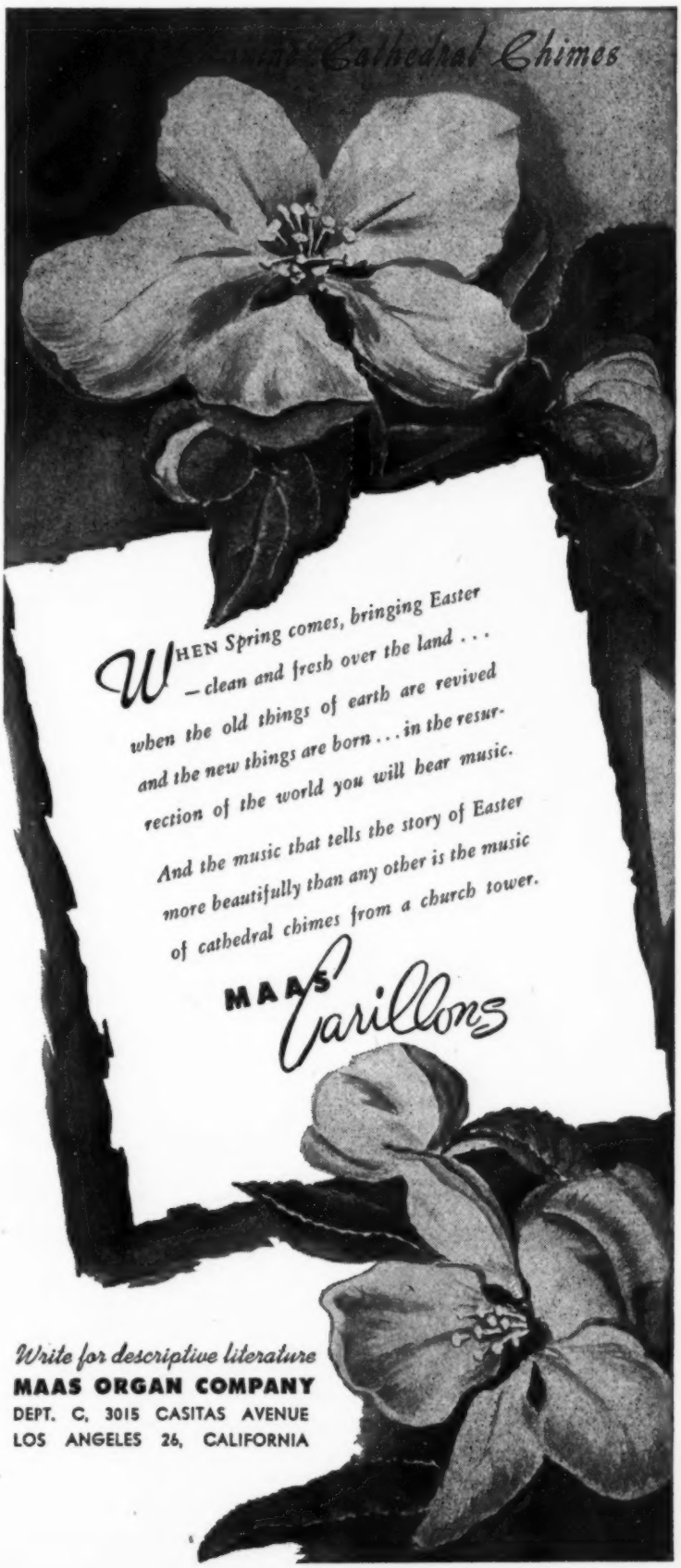
**Study Means of Improving Education for Africans**

Lovedale Institution, probably the most famous of the missionary educational projects for Africans in this country, has received more than 2,600 applications for the 200 vacancies it has for the current academic year. A similar situation obtains in almost every educational institution for Africans. Such figures are a clear indication both of the pitifully inadequate facilities for higher education of Africans and of the tremendously rapid increase in their demand for such education. There is a widespread feeling that the whole problem of African education must be tackled on a national scale. It is recognized that 2,000,000 Europeans cannot suddenly provide an educational system for 10,000,000 native children on the same scale as that provided over the years for European children. But that very fact underlines the need for a comprehensive plan which would work out a scheme of priorities for present resources. Hitherto the burden of African education has been borne by the churches, and there is no doubt that in educational and hospital service the churches can offer something that cannot be given by non-religious groups. However, the task has grown to such proportions that the churches cannot carry it on alone.

* * *

**Brookes Calls for Free Education for All**

This problem of African education was one of the great concerns at the recent meeting of the South African Institute's race relations council. Senator Brookes, president of the institute, stated that the majority of Bantu children of school age are still without any opportunity for education, and that of those who do attend school only a minority go beyond the substandard courses—this in spite of the fact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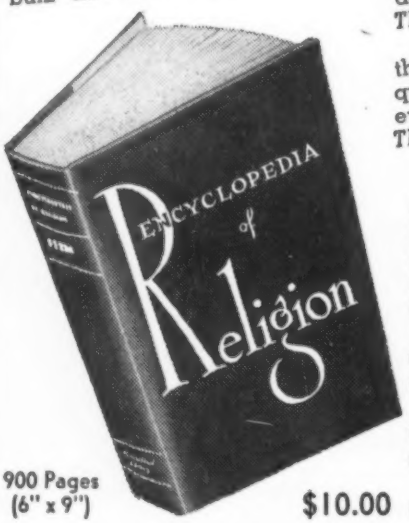


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that state expenditure for African education has increased by 900 per cent within the past 21 years, exclusive of capital expenditure and the cost of school feeding. Senator Brookes strongly urged compulsory free education for children of all races.

* * *

**Native Offenses Laid to Petty 'Pass Laws'**

One of the union's greatest social problems arises from the increasing number of Africans who are being sent to prison for petty offenses. Many of these offenses would not be classed as lawbreaking if they were committed by Europeans, for they are bound up with the law which requires every urban native in South Africa, with a few exceptions among those of prominent positions, to carry a pass at all times. The more enlightened Christian people in this country believe that the "pass" laws and the grave hardships which they visit upon thousands of normally law-abiding people must be done away with.

* * *

**Churches Protest Discriminatory Laws Against Natives**

The churches are constantly making representations to the authorities for the abolition of the pass laws and other devices by which the natives are discriminated against. The Christian Council of South Africa is preparing to lay evidence in favor of such abolition before the government commission which has been appointed to inquire into the laws concerning natives. It is felt that the pass laws sustain constant racial tension and create bitterness between the police and the natives, leading to continual imprisonment and injury. It is coming to be recognized that unless the Europeans are prepared to see most of the native population classed as anti-social (a census reveals that the large majority of urban Africans have been in prison at one time or another for petty offenses), they must abolish many discriminatory laws and reduce to a minimum the use of serious sanctions for petty offenses. The Christian church knows that its profound concern for all men, whatever the color of their skin, forbids it to remain aloof from the argument. It is fortunate to have the well known Swiss missionary Henri Junod, an authority on penal reform, to lead its attack.

* * *

**Visit of Royal Family Stirs Excitement**

All other activity in South Africa is overshadowed at the moment by the excitement attending the visit of the king and queen and their party—the first time in the country's history that a reigning monarch has visited it and opened its Parliament. It would be impossible to overemphasize what the present royal family means to the British family of nations; no small part of the esteem in which its members are held can be traced to the example they set as a *family*. While in this country the king will attend a worship service with the Afrikaans community, another in one of the Dutch Reformed churches in Pretoria, and one with the English community in the Cape Town Cathedral. South Africa realizes that during the recent war the royal family shared to the full the trials and tribulations of all their people.

STANLEY G. PITTS.

# Edinburgh Opens Youth Art Center

**Church of Scotland Expands Program Begun This Year with Theater—Debate Women in Ministry**

EDINBURGH, Feb. 24.—In addition to the "Gateway," the cinema and theater which is having a very successful season, the youth committee and the Home Board of the Church of Scotland have initiated another enterprise in Edinburgh for young people. This is an art center, which offers facilities for painting, music, wood and leather work, plays and photography. The aim of the center, as announced by James Chisholm, young minister who is director of arts and crafts for the Home Board, is to give the church a chance to use all the media available to it to present its truths to the public; to raise the standard of art appreciation among the people through exhibitions, lectures, discussions, posters and pamphlets developed at the center; and to encourage young people to be creative themselves. The board's attention was first drawn to Mr. Chisholm, who served for two years in the R.A.F., by his work with boys in Glasgow. After hearing a talk by the young minister, Lochend Church, on behalf of its building fund, launched a novel scheme of competition in the subjects featured at the center, and added another—cookery. The plan proved very successful.

* * *

**Debate Place of Women In the Church**

Representatives of all Protestant denominations met at Dollarbeg recently to discuss the place of women in the church. They expressed a wide variety of opinion. It was brought out that in the full-time ministry the claim "on the same terms as men" presents obvious difficulties in the case of marriage and motherhood. What, some asked, would happen when domestic and ministerial duties conflicted? On principle, women are entitled to ordination if "called." The Episcopal Church, however, denies that this is so. The Church of Scotland says that so far such ordination is not "expedient," and recently turned down a proposal, which went to the presbyteries under the Barrier Act, that women should be eligible for the eldership. That office, it should be noted, involves ordination; but no one would say that an elder's ordination is the same thing as that of a minister. And, by the way, some ask, since deacons are also ordained, might it not be well if we cleared our minds here and now by asking whether "ordination" is quite the word to use in all three cases?

* * *

**Plain Speaking on Evils Of Day Is Heard**

The presbytery of Glasgow has set up a special committee to consider the necessity of a marriage guidance council. Nevil Davidson, minister of Glasgow Cathedral, whose motion was responsible for the action, declares that divorce is not now regarded as either a sin or a tragedy, and that it is intolerable that in a Christian community we should continue to acquiesce in the failure of one marriage in five.

Equally emphatic language was used by George T. H. Reid of Juniper Green when he presented to the presbytery of Edinburgh the report of the committee on evangelism, of which he is chairman. He spoke of "as black an ignorance of Christian truth in Scotland as that which meets the missionary in the mission field." Feeling that the time is ripe to launch a new offensive, the committee will open an evangelistic campaign in Edinburgh next fall.

* * *

**German P.O.W.'s Attend Church Services**

Both St. Giles' Cathedral, the "high kirk" of Edinburgh, and St. Mary's Cathedral (Episcopal) were recently the scenes of crowded services for German prisoners

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of war. At St. Giles', Charles Warr preached the sermon, with Hans Golzen translating it into German. Others taking part in the service were Pastor Wendeburg (Lutheran), Canon Cockburn (Scottish Episcopal) and Prof. John Baillie. Hymns, creeds and the Lord's prayer were repeated in both English and German. The volume of congregational singing was remarkable; it quite overwhelmed the sound of St. Giles' large trained choir. In his welcoming address, Dr. Warr, who is dean of the Thistle and the Chapel Royal, spoke of the spirit of brotherhood which underlay the service as being the only hope of the world.

* * *

**African Mission Exerts Wide Influence**

One of the places the king and queen will visit during their South African tour is the Church of Scotland's mission institution at Lovedale, in Cape province. Opened more than 100 years ago with two native and nine European pupils, the school now has upwards of 1,000 students. Young people of many different races come to it from all parts of South Africa for training in industrial arts, building, agriculture, carpentry, bookbinding, printing and domestic science. Like other lands, South Africa has its serious color problem, and the emphasis at Lovedale on the education of the whole man, so that the African may be fitted to meet the inevitable impact of industrial civilization with understanding and skill rooted in Christian ethics, is of major importance.

* * *

**Edinburgh Pastors to New Fields**

Edinburgh is losing two hard-working and popular clergymen. Sidney Harvie Clark, for seven years rector of St. John's and particularly active among students, becomes archdeacon of Birmingham, succeeding Geoffrey Allan, now bishop of Egypt. J. N. MacPherson of London Road Church, who has won praise for his performance of a difficult task as chairman of the Edinburgh readjustments committee, has been called to Kinneff, near Brechin.

INNES LOGAN.

## The Church Roll

J. L. Zwingle, director of operations for the U.S.O. and a Cumberland Presbyterian minister, has been appointed president of Park College, Presbyterian institution in Parkville, Mo.

William Hung, for many years professor of history at Yenching University, Peiping, China, gave the 1947 Merrick lectures at Ohio Wesleyan University. Dr. Hung is an alumnus of the university.

Howard Thurman, pastor of the Fellowship Church of All Peoples in San Francisco, will give the annual Ingersoll lecture on the immortality of man at Harvard Divinity School April 14. His subject will be "The Idea of Immortality in Negro Spirituals."

Ralph W. Sockman, pastor of Christ Church (Methodist), New York city, has been appointed president of the Church Peace Union to succeed William Pierson Merrill, who had held the post for 30 years.

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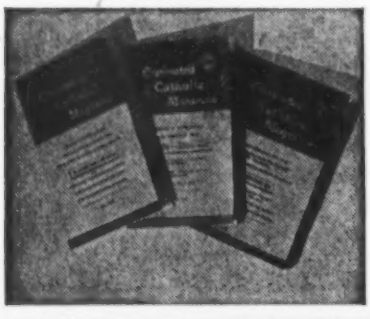

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Axel N. Nelson, executive director of the Lutheran Inner Mission, in Chicago, on Feb. 14. . . . F. A. Goetsch, executive secretary of the Board of International Missions of the Evangelical and Reformed Church and formerly a missionary in India, on Feb. 16. . . . John M. Moore, retired Baptist minister who from 1927 to 1931 was general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, on Feb. 12. . . . Lawrence B. Ellerson, pastor emeritus of Thirteenth Avenue Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J., on Feb. 13. During Dr. Ellerson's pastorate at the Newark church, it reputedly became the first self-supporting Negro Presbyterian church in the north. . . . Irving Peake Johnson, retired bishop of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Colorado, on Feb. 28.

J. Hoffman Cohn, general secretary of the American Board of Missions to the Jews, is sailing for a missionary journey among the Jews of Europe and Palestine.

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**The Chase** (UA) Steve Cochran, Robert Cummings, Peter Lorre, Michele Morgan. *Melodrama.* Nightmare horrors of shell-shocked veteran as he meets fear, violence when he goes to work as chauffeur to gangster, is involved in efforts of abused wife in household to escape. Some of the horrors are real, others hallucinatory. Confused plot and characterizations leave large gaps in logic. *General unpleasantness* and distorted moral values are not compensated for by death of villains, by the dream device, nor by some excellent use of camera to portray mood. M

**The Locket** (RKO) Brian Aherne, Laraine Day, Robert Mitchum, Sharyn Moffat. *Drama.* A psychiatric case study which reveals childhood influences responsible for woman's later disintegration, wherein she remains outwardly innocent, straightforward, while living a life of lies, deceit and conniving that bring tragedy to others. Effectively told by series of telescoped flashbacks, film *deals honestly* with a tragic, essentially unpleasant theme. M

**Shadow of a Woman** (War.) *Melodrama.* What happens when a wife discovers her husband, a doctor, is a quack and a ghoulish murderer. Poorly developed *horror fare.*

**The Sweetheart of Sigma Chi** (Mono.) *Comedy.* Campus love affairs and a varsity boat race which petty racketeers try to "fix." A few interesting musical numbers set in off-campus night club, little resemblance to actual college life, but pleasant enough for the undiscriminating. Dialogue, acting *amateurish.* Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

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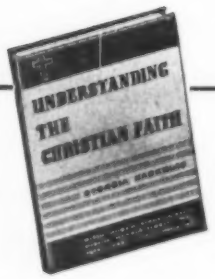


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